

VF Subject  
Lake Tahoe

GB124

.L15

## CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAKE TAHOE REGION

A Guide for Planning

Prepared for

Tahoe Regional Planning Agency

and

Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

National FS Library  
USDA Forest Service

South Lake Tahoe, California

September 1971

OCT 25 2010

240 W Prospect Rd  
Fort Collins CO 80526

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Establishment of the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency was consented to by Congress through enactment of Public Law 91-148. On March 19, 1970, the Governors of Nevada and California signed the proclamation that proclaimed creation of the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. Since the authorized staff of the Agency was small, it enlisted from several committees composed of technical specialists and other citizens concerned with resource conservation and orderly development of the Tahoe environmental resources.

The planning effort has been aided greatly by generous cooperation from numerous Federal, State, county, and municipal agencies and from several colleges and interested private individuals. Cooperating agencies included:

### **Federal:**

Department of Agriculture: Forest Service; Soil Conservation Service

Department of Commerce: Environmental Science Services Administration

Department of Defense: Army Corps of Engineers

Department of the Interior: The Bureaus of Mines, Outdoor Recreation, Reclamation, Sport Fisheries and Wildlife; Federal Water Quality Administration, and the Geological Survey

Department of Transportation: Coast Guard; Federal Highway Administration; Federal Aviation Administration

### **State:**

California: The Resources Agency of California

Nevada: The Nevada Department of Conservation and Natural Resources

### **County and Municipal:**

Carson City, Douglas, and Washoe Counties, Nevada; El Dorado and Placer Counties and City of South Lake Tahoe, California

### **Schools:**

Foresta Institute; Sacramento State College; Tahoe College; University of California at Berkeley and Davis; University of Nevada; Desert Research Institute

Any publication that compiles and presents information from so large and disparate a group of contributors as this one does is susceptible to error, inconsistency, and omission. Sustained effort has been made to avoid these flaws; if it has failed occasionally, the reader's forbearance is humbly solicited.

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	ii
Historical and Cultural Committee .....	v
Introduction .....	1
Historic Land and Resource Use Patterns .....	4
Discovery and Exploration .....	4
The Roadbuilding Era .....	5
Major Toll and Wagon Roads .....	5
The Bonanza Road—The Placerville Toll Road and Its Components .....	5
The Johnson Cutoff, 1848-1858 .....	6
First Route of the Placerville Road .....	6
Hawley Grade (Hawley Hill Trail), 1858-1860 .....	6
The Kingsbury and McDonald and the Osgood Toll Roads, 1860 - 1863 .....	7
Final Links in the Bonanza Road System, 1863- 1868 .....	7
Placer County Emigrant Road, .....	8
Scott's Route, 1849 - 1852 .....	8
Placer County Emigrant Road, 1852 - 1868 .....	8
Georgetown-Rubicon Springs-McKinney Creek Road, 1860 - 1900 .....	10
Truckee-Tahoe City Stage Road, 1860 .....	11
Truckee-Brockway Road (Brockway Cutoff) .....	12
Settlement and the Beginnings of Agriculture .....	12
Lumbering in the Comstock Era (1861-1898) .....	13
Post-Comstock Era — The Saratoga of the Pacific (1890-Mid-1950's) .....	15
Casino Era (Mid-1950's to the Present) .....	16
Anthropological Perspective of the Prehistoric and Historic Washo .....	19
Prehistory .....	19
Archaeological Research .....	20
Washo and Anglo-American Culture Contact and Change .....	20
Ethnographic Sites in the Lake Tahoe Region .....	21
Suggestions .....	25
Discussion .....	26
References .....	27
Maps	
Historical Sites	
Logged Areas	
Archaeological and Ethnographic Sites	

The Historical and Cultural Committee, appointed jointly by the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency and the Forest Service's Lake Tahoe Basin Planning Team, made the study of historic patterns of land and resource use reported here. Victor Goodwin, Chairman of the committee, wrote the report. Material originally prepared by Paul Mackey for the Lake Tahoe Area Council was the basis for portions of the text, although considerably enlarged upon and expanded for use here. Membership of the committee was:

Victor Goodwin (Chmn.), USDA Forest Service, River Basin Planning Staff, Carson City, Nevada

Laurel W. Ames, South Lake Tahoe, California

John Corbett, Incline Village, Crystal Bay, Nevada

Dr. Frederick F. Finkler, South Lake Tahoe, California

Mrs. Phillip Greuner, South Lake Tahoe, California

Mrs. William B. Layton, Manager, Chamber of Commerce, Tahoe City, California

Robert Rice, U. S. Forest Service, South Lake Tahoe, California

Bruce Robinson, El Dorado County Planner, Placerville, California

Dr. Kenneth C. Smith, South Lake Tahoe, California

Barbara Smith, South Lake Tahoe, California

The study of anthropology and archaeology of the Lake Tahoe Region was prepared jointly by archaeologists of the Intermountain and California Regions of the U. S. Forest Service. They are:

Evan L. DeBlois, Div. of Recreation and Lands, Regional Office, Ogden, Utah

Donald S. Miller, Div. of Lands, Regional Office, San Francisco, California

## INTRODUCTION

### General Features of the Lake Tahoe Planning Area

Lake Tahoe and the mountainous timber-covered basin immediately surrounding it provide one of the most beautiful environments in the Sierra Nevada and in the nation. The Lake itself, an irregular oval about 22 miles long by 12 miles wide, covers 191 square miles; it occupies a deep depression between crests of the Sierra Nevada and Carson ranges. Since its surface is 6,225 feet above mean sea level, Lake Tahoe is one of the largest high-altitude lakes in the world. The clarity and purity of its water are outstanding. In fact, protection of quality of the water in Lake Tahoe is a primary objective for effective control of the region's environment.

The spectacular scenery of the Lake Tahoe Region results from unique geological conditions that prevailed when the lake was formed. The basement rock is predominantly granite related to the rocks found throughout the Sierra Nevada. On the other hand, the geologic structure — the faulting that produced the lake basin itself — is related to the Basin Ranges that extend eastward from the Sierra to the Wasatch Range in Utah. The lake was formed by a natural dam — a great pile of andesitic mudflow breccia — across the north outlet.

Lake Tahoe is on the eastern boundary of that part of the Sierra Nevada that was extensively glaciated during the Pleistocene epoch. Huge valley glaciers moved down canyons along the western side of the lake, scouring away loose rock and building up great piles of morainal debris. Along the eastern side, glaciers developed only on the shaded side of the highest peaks; so most of this area was not glaciated. This accounts for the subdued rolling topography typical of the Carson Range, as contrasted to the rugged Sierran crest on the west side of the basin.

Climate of the region is strongly influenced by topography. Marine air from the Pacific Ocean, 150 miles to the west, drops its moisture (mostly as snow) as it rises over the crest of the Sierra. Average annual precipitation ranges from more than 50 inches on the western side of the region to about 25 inches along much of the eastern shoreline. The Weather Bureau at Tahoe City, on the west side, reports long-term average snowfall of 213 inches. The fairly long summers are comparatively cool; mean maximum temperature at Tahoe City in July over a 50-year period was 78°F. Winters are cold but seldom severe; mean daily minimum temperature for January over the same period was 17°F. The high elevation and cool temperatures result in a short growing season - an average of only 70 to 120 frost-free days per year at various points near the Lake.

Vegetation includes desert, montane, and alpine species typical of the eastern slopes of the Sierra. Pine and fir forests were heavily logged between 1870 and 1900 when demand for lumber and props for the Nevada silver mines was high. Even so, today the region has good stands of conifers between the Lake level and 9,000 feet, plus considerable areas covered by chaparral and other brush. On fairly level open areas that have a few inches of soil, grasses and other herbage flourished during the short growing season.

Numerous species of wildlife inhabit the Lake Tahoe Region. Deer, bear, mountain lion, coyote, rabbit, raccoon, and several rodents are common. Land birds and waterfowl are present in small numbers, consistent with available habitat. Heavy commercial fishing in the Lake around 1900 depleted native populations of cutthroat trout and whitefish, but kokanee salmon and several species of fish stocked from State hatcheries provide good recreation fishing today. Numerous tributary streams also provide sport fishing.

Soils are generally shallow and highly erodible - easily disturbed and slow to stabilize - but the soil is fairly deep in some bottom lands and glacial debris areas. The varied climate and highly erodible soils combine to make the Lake Tahoe Region a fragile environment; hence, the ecological balance is easily upset. Whenever vegetation is removed, it is not soon replaced. Erosion by wind and water is a constant hazard; it damages pristine features of the Lake, including the spawning areas of native fish.

### Changing Environment

Before the white man invaded this area about the middle of the 1800's, the somewhat nomadic Washoe Indian tribe inhabited it. Their name for the lake, "Tahoe," has been variously translated as

"big water," "high water," or "water in a high place." The first recorded white visitors were John Fremont's exploring party (1844); they were soon followed by the first emigrant parties, then by the Forty-niners and other western migrants and adventurers.

During most of the following 100 years, Lake Tahoe was the summer recreation area for wealthy Californians, mostly from San Francisco and the Sacramento Valley. The few summer resorts, scattered stores, service stations, and restaurants hardly marred the natural beauty of the region.

Soon after World War II all this began to change. With increased general affluence, steadily and rapidly increasing numbers of vacationers began to visit the area; their visits gradually extended the "season" from summer to the full year. Establishment of year-round casinos at Stateline in 1955 and the phenomenal growth of winter sports added to the influx of both visitors and residents. By unofficial count in 1965, the region had nearly 29,000 yearlong residents - more than double the 1960 Federal census figure. Present projections anticipate more than 50,000 residents by 1980 and an added summer population topping 250,000.

These projected increases in resident and transient populations will inevitably multiply and intensify the environmental problems that already are plaguing the area. Hence the crucial need for planning orderly development that can be sustained by the natural capacities of the region.

#### **Administrative and Governmental Responsibility**

The Planning Area established by the Bi-State Planning Compact between the States of California and Nevada is a basin covering 327,878 acres, including the 122,628 acres of lake surface. Governmental jurisdiction over land in the Lake Tahoe Planning Area is complex (table 1). The area is divided between California, (Placer, El Dorado, and Alpine Counties) and Nevada (Washo and Douglas Counties and Carson City). This division of governmental responsibility makes it difficult to coordinate the administration of government in the Area in the interest of protecting the environment.

Nearly half (48.7 percent) of the land area is Federally owned - chiefly in three National Forests totaling 107,762 acres. An additional 4.5 percent is State owned, nearly all in State Parks. Thus, about 53 percent of the land in the Planning Area is publicly owned.

Of nearly 75 miles of lake shoreline, about 18 percent is publicly owned. This is chiefly eight miles belonging to the State of California and five and one-half miles in National Forests.

Table 1. - Land acreage, by jurisdiction, Lake Tahoe Regional Planning Area, February 1971

JURISDICTION	GROSS ACREAGE	FEDERAL LAND ACREAGE	STATE PARK ACREAGE	PRIVATE LAND ACREAGE
<b>Federal:</b>				
Eldorado N. F.	85,518			
Tahoe N. F.	12,060			
Toiyabe N. F.	10,184			
Bur. of Reclamation	64			
	<hr/> 107,826	<hr/> 107,826		
<b>State:</b>				
California	3,552		3,552	
Nevada	6,047		6,047	
	<hr/> 9,599		<hr/> 9,599	
<b>Counties and Cities:</b>				
Alpine	4,170	4,170	0	0
El Dorado	96,887	81,348	3,535	12,004
Placer	46,291	12,124	17	34,150
Washoe	19,700	2,731	3,020	13,949
Douglas	23,538	6,619	709	16,210
Carson City	5,830	834	2,318	2,678
South Lake Tahoe City	5,482	0	0	5,482
Total land area	<hr/> 201,898	<hr/> 107,826	<hr/> 9,599	<hr/> 84,473
Lake Tahoe area	122,628			
Small lakes area	3,352			
Total, Lake Tahoe Region Planning Area	<hr/> 327,878			

1 National Forest land, except 64 acres in Placer County controlled by the Bureau of Reclamation.

2 At legal elevation of 6,229.1 feet above mean sea level.

## Tahoe Regional Planning Agency (TRPA)

The Tahoe Regional Planning Agency began work as soon as the Governors of California and Nevada signed the proclamation creating the Bi-State Planning Agency. Public Law 91-148 had enumerated the dangers of deterioration of the natural environment at Tahoe and of the increasing demands on various natural resources and features of the Region; also, it emphatically stated the need to maintain equilibrium between the Region's natural endowment and limitations on one hand and the environment that man is creating. It recognized need for establishing "an area-wide planning agency with powers to adopt and enforce a regional plan of resource conservation and orderly development, to exercise effective environmental controls, and to perform other essential functions . . . ."

TRPA was ordered to develop and adopt, within 18 months of its formation (i.e., by September 1971), a plan for regional development that would include separate plans for land use, transportation, conservation, recreational development, and public services and facilities, to name a few. The Agency was further directed to consider and to seek to harmonize the needs of the whole Region with the plans of local governmental units and the existing land use plans of State and Federal agencies.

Since nearly half of the land area in the Lake Tahoe Region is in National Forests, the Forest Service has major responsibility for improving environmental features here. In 1970 it established the Lake Tahoe Basin Planning Team to work with TRPA. Although the Agency and Team have separate organizations and responsibilities, they have cooperated closely to achieve a common goal.

The first section of this publication briefly sketches history of the Lake Tahoe Region that bears on the present environment there. Many interesting episodes in the discovery, early exploration, and subsequent development of the area were necessarily omitted, but the narrative and comment here should orient planners toward the origin of some of the difficult problems they face and the critical issues they must decide. The second section briefly presents some history of the local Washo Indian culture that was extant before the incursion of the white man a century and a quarter ago. It indicates the process of the passing of that culture and suggests types of research and protective effort that should be undertaken in order to preserve as much as possible of this culture for the future.

The authors were meticulous in crediting sources of their information and quotations. Since extensive bibliography has not been deemed to be useful to regional planners, for whom this report is published, these sources of information have not been included here; however, specialists and other interested persons may consult lists of publications on file at the Lake Valley District Ranger Office, in South Lake Tahoe, California.

## HISTORIC LAND AND RESOURCE USE PATTERNS

More than any other locale in the American West, perhaps, the Lake Tahoe Region presents unique and sometimes unattractive anomalies in its patterns of development and use. Any student of the basin's forest or range ecology soon becomes aware that its vegetal sites and types show striking anomalies and perplexing contrasts. Excellent stands of Jeffrey pine, red fir, or white fir frequently and abruptly terminate in large fields of waist-high manzanita or snowbrush, with little or no change in soils or climate to account for it. These anomalies and startling contrasts in land use and vegetation composition make sense only when they are studied in context with the hectic history of the white man's tenure and use of the land here. Accordingly this booklet proposes merely to show those facets of the white man's past activities in the Tahoe Basin that have influenced or helped determine present spatial and land use patterns and vegetal cover. Review of this history leads to an inescapable conclusion: the old truism that a country that fails to learn lessons implicit in its past mistakes is doomed to repeat them in the future.

## DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The first white men known to have seen Lake Tahoe were Lieut. John Charles Fremont and his expedition's topographer, Charles Preuss. The date was February 14, 1844. They did not then set foot on Tahoe's shore, but they viewed it from Red Lake Peak and labeled it "Mountain Lake" on their expedition's maps<sup>1</sup>. Four years later, in his "Geographical Memoir and Map," Fremont used the name

<sup>1</sup> Edward B. Scott. 1957. The Saga of Lake Tahoe

"Lake Bonpland" in honor of a French botanist. This name did not persist, though, and in 1852 we begin seeing the name "Lake Bigler," after "Honest John" Bigler, Governor of California. Though the California State Legislature made this name official in February 1870, it was never popular. The name "Tahoe" in varied spellings began to appear in newspapers in 1862. By the 1880's this name was in general use, but it was not made official until 1945, when the California Legislature rescinded its act of 1870. This Washo Indian word has been translated variously as "big water," "deep water," and "high water"; but "big water" has been accepted most generally.

Just as the name Fremont is inextricably associated with the discovery of Lake Tahoe, the name of young Dan Murphy is tied to exploration of the area. He and a group of three other young men and two young women, a subgroup of the Stephens-Murphy-Townsend emigrant party, visited the Lake late in November 1844, barely 9 months after Fremont and Preuss first saw it. Murphy and his friends had been picked to try to cross the Sierra crest in search of a favorable pass; they were expected, hopefully, to join the main party at Sutter's Fort early in December. Apparently they crossed the Truckee River, rode south along Tahoe's west shore until they reached an eastward-flowing stream - apparently McKinney Creek - thence through the low divide (Barton Pass) that separates McKinney Creek from the headwaters of Rubicon River, which flows west.

The little company traversed the dangerous gorges of the Rubicon, then the Middle and North Forks of American River, and reached the John Sinclair Ranch on American River after about 20 days. They reached Sutter's Fort on December 10 and were joined by the main party three days later. In later years Dan Murphy became one of the largest cattle ranchers and landholders in the West, and was well known as the "Cattle King of Idaho." His Nevada ranch headquarters were at Halleck, in the heart of Elko County's range empire; his California headquarters were at Morgan Hill, named for his son-in-law. At the peak of his Nevada operations, more than 20,000 cattle carried the famous Murphy Diamond A brand.

## THE ROADBUILDING ERA

For some 15 years after Fremont discovered Lake Tahoe, it was comparatively undisturbed by the great westward migration. This was because the two best routes through its basin, though shorter and lower than some that were used more heavily, required a double crossing of mountains - over the Carson Range east of the basin and over the main Sierra crest to the west of it. Also, both these routes had very steep ascents on their eastward approaches, extremely difficult for passage by wagons.

By the mid-1850's the numerous Mother Lode placer camps and towns sprawled on a north-south axis through the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada foresaw an end to the mining fever and forthwith began cutthroat competition to become major east-west wagon road terminals. This set off a flurry of road surveying activity, some of which resulted in road-building. Sections of these early wagon roads, some of which became toll roads, are parts of today's U. S. Highway 50 and other traffic routes in the Tahoe area. The Wagon Road Act passed by the California Legislature in 1855 was a response to local pressures resulting from bitter realization that the Federal government was not going to pay for road building in California. Bitter legal struggles based on provisions of this Act followed, and one year after passage it was declared unconstitutional. From then on, expenses for road surveys and construction had to be borne by counties.

## MAJOR TOLL AND WAGON ROADS

### The Bonanza Road — The Placerville Toll Road and Its Components

The road which has most influenced the history of the Lake Tahoe Basin and its present-day settlement pattern was the Placerville Toll Road, often called the Bonanza Road. The route in question was not one single road *per se*, but a system of toll roads built and fitted into a turnpike entity between Placerville, Carson and Eagle Valleys (Genoa, Carson City), and the Comstock cities during the period 1858-1863. It generally followed the route recommended by the Sherman Day, Marlette-Day, and George Goddard road surveys of 1855 between Placerville and Carson Valley. From 1858 until construction of the Central Pacific Railroad across the Sierra Nevada and into the State of Nevada in 1868 supplanted it, this road system became the principal means of ingress and egress to and from the Comstock. It climbed steadily from Placerville to Johnson (Echo) Pass via the South Fork of the Ameri-

can River, and across the Carson Range east and south of Lake Tahoe via various alternates (Luther Pass, the Kingsbury Grade (Daggett Pass) and Spooner Summit). Furthermore, during this high noon period of its glory, the road entity became one of the busiest and most wildly profitable turnpikes in the American West, to say nothing of the entire North American continent.

Let us now consider briefly the development of the various roads and trails in the Lake Tahoe Basin which were joined together at one time or another over a period of years to make up the Bonanza Road system. These antecedent roads not only became units, in whole or in part, of the Bonanza Road but were predecessors to three modern highways in the Lake Tahoe milieu - - U. S. Highway 50 over Echo Pass and Spooner's Summit, California Highway 89 over Luther Pass and into Hope Valley, and Nevada Highway 19 over Daggett Pass into Carson Valley. (See map, **Historic Sites**.)

#### **The Johnson Cutoff, 1848 - 1858**

The earliest of the road components that eventually comprised the Bonanza or Placerville Road, this route was known variously as the Johnson Cutoff, the Johnson Trail, or the Johnson Emigrant Road. It was not merely a short road crossing from the South Fork of the American River headwaters into upper Lake Valley via Johnson Pass and Johnson Hill, as many have assumed. Rather, the Cutoff, as laid out in the spring of 1852 (some sources mistakenly say 1848) by John Calhoun ("Cockeye") Johnson, was a road entity in itself. It stretched from Placerville over Johnson Pass, down Johnson Hill to upper Lake Valley above Meyers, and thence across the southern portion of the Lake Tahoe Region to the vicinity of present Edgewood. From there it angled northeast along the western slopes of the Carson Range to Spooner's Summit, then known as Eagle Ranch Pass, and thence eastward down Clear Creek to Carson Valley and Eagle Ranch Valley (Present Carson City). The entire Johnson Cutoff was used to some extent by emigrant wagon trains during the period 1852 - 1858; but after that only the Johnson Pass - Johnson Hill portion into upper Lake Valley was used by the first routing of the Placerville Road. The stretches from present Tahoe Paradise (Meyers) to Edgewood to Eagle Ranch Pass - - this latter segment was known then as the Carson Emigrant Ridge Route - - fell into disuse at that time.

#### **First Route of the Placerville Road, 1858-1860**

The Bonanza Road's first routing followed the Johnson Cutoff from Placerville across Johnson Pass to upper Lake Valley about a mile south of Meyers, with some improvement of the precipitous Johnson Cutoff road down Johnson Hill to the Upper Truckee River. From the Upper Truckee, the road reached Carson Valley via Luther Pass, Hope Valley, and West Carson Canyon. Although this road was first improved and used late in 1857, following the first stagecoach trip into the Lake Tahoe Basin in June of that year, it did not come into full use until 1858. It was the route of the first Comstock fortune-seekers, whose motley columns were well described by journalist J. Ross Browne, who traveled the road enroute to Virginia City in March 1860.

The road continued to receive varying degrees of use from 1858 to 1861, when it was largely supplanted by the Osgood (Old Meyers) Grade and the Kingsbury-McDonald Toll Road. However, even during 1858 - 1861, the adjacent Hawley Grade southward down Johnson Hill to the foot of Luther Pass received more use than did the subject road, because of its better alignment and grades from Johnson Pass into the valley of the Upper Truckee River.

#### **The Hawley Grade (Hawley Hill Trail), 1858 - 1860**

This road, the next link forged in the Bonanza Road chain, was completed during the summer and fall of 1858 by Asa H. Hawley, Lake Tahoe's second white settler. It quickly replaced the Johnson Hill road as soon as it was completed. The Hawley Grade left the Johnson Hill road a short distance west of Johnson Pass, and angled southward along the Sierra crest to the present U. S. Highway 50 crossing at Echo Summit. From this point it dipped downward in a southerly direction to the Upper Truckee River, where it intercepted the Luther Pass Road about 2½ miles south of Meyers. From here the stagecoaches, freighters, and horseback and foot travellers using the Hawley Grade took the Luther Pass - Hope Valley route to Carson and Eagle Valleys and the Comstock Lode.

Horace Greeley traversed this road in one of George Chorpenning's mud-wagon stagecoaches from Genoa to Placerville on his historic western journey in July 1859. In his dispatches to eastern newspaper readers, he took fearful note of its hair-raising curves and bottomless abysses, but noted its beautiful vistas of Lake Tahoe.

This road was favored over the Johnson Hill road by the first great surge of fortune-hungry miners rushing eastward from California to the Comstock cities during the latter half of 1859 and most of the year 1860. However, by the latter part of that year both it and the Johnson Hill - Luther Pass route had begun to be phased out as links in the Bonanza Road system, in favor of the lower and more direct Osgood Grade - Kingsbury Grade route to the Comstock via the Lake basin.

The famed Pony Express probably used the Hawley Grade - Luther Pass route in preference to the Johnson Hill road during the first month of its life, in April 1860. Late that month "The Pony" switched to the still unfinished Osgood - Kingsbury route, which it continued to use during the remainder of its short, hectic life.

### **The Kingsbury and McDonald and the Osgood Toll Roads, 1860 - 1863**

The Placerville Turnpike in its first phases (the Johnson Hill - Luther Pass or Hawley Grade - Luther Pass roads) was too roundabout for the hurrying throngs who crowded it from 1859 to 1861 enroute to the Comstock cities, and Luther Pass was too high and snowy. To remedy this situation, David Kingsbury and John McDonald began building a toll wagon road across Daggett Pass in the Carson Range in the fall of 1859. This road joined the Carson Valley road a few miles south of Genoa, and intersected the old Johnson Cutoff trace at "Friday" Burke's and J. W. Small's station in the Lake basin. This station, now called Edgewood, was where the Cutoff left the lake and started up and over the Carson Range via the Carson Emigrant Ridge Route enroute to Spooner's Summit.

Between Friday's Station and Yank's (Meyers) Station in the southern quadrant of the Lake Tahoe Region, the Kingsbury and McDonald Road followed the hitherto semiabandoned section of the Johnson Cutoff. This road, still in use, is the present Pioneer Trail. Just west of Meyers, at Nehemiah Osgood's Toll Station at the foot of Johnson Hill, Kingsbury and McDonald's road joined Osgood's new road over Johnson Hill, construction of which Osgood had started in 1859. This road, now called the Old Meyers Grade, is still used on a limited basis. It struck north from the Johnson Hill portion of the Johnson Cutoff just east of the Sierra crest, and reached the floor of Lake Valley a short distance south of the point where U. S. Highway 50 now begins its westward ascent of Johnson Hill via the New Meyers Grade.

Both the Kingsbury and McDonald and the Osgood toll roads, started at about the same time in 1859, were completed and put into use in August 1860. They shortened the distance between Placerville and Nevada's Comstock about 15 miles, and their crossing of the Carson Range at Daggett Pass was about 400 feet lower than Luther Pass on the old road. Consequently, they immediately began funneling away freight and passenger traffic to and from the Comstock over the Johnson Hill-Luther Pass and Hawley Grade-Luther Pass routes. However, the full floodtide of their use did not begin until the early spring of 1861; after that the older routes were practically abandoned. Besides greatly shortening the distance between Placerville and Carson Valley, the new roads brought traffic to and from the lake's southern perimeter for the first time.

The Pony Express shifted to the new routes late in April 1860, and McLane's Pioneer Stage Lines between Placerville and Virginia City early in 1861, shortly after both road segments were opened to use late in 1860. F. A. Bee's Placerville and St. Joseph Telegraph line, the first link in the telegraph system that eventually put the Pony Express out of business, was begun at Placerville July 4, 1858, and followed the Osgood and Kingsbury routes. It reached Genoa in the fall of 1858, Carson City in the spring of 1859, and Virginia City early in 1860.

### **Final Links in the Bonanza Road System**

Rufus Walton began building the Clear Creek Road in the summer of 1861, after he completed his Walton Toll Road from lower Clear Creek, south of Carson City, across Spooner's Summit and down to Glenbrook. Walton's franchise called for a connection with the Kingsbury and McDonald link of the Bonanza Road at Friday's Station (Edgewood), evidently by improving the Carson Emigrant Ridge sector of the old Johnson Cutoff between Eagle Valley (Carson City) and Friday's. However, Walton, although he used the Clear Creek portion of the old emigrant trace, never completed the section from Spooner's Summit to Friday's Station. To all intents and purposes, then, a gap still existed between his Clear Creek road and the Bonanza Road which kept him from capitalizing on the traffic over that road. However, he did benefit from the travellers and freight ferried across Lake Tahoe from the Georgetown - Rubicon Springs - McKinney Creek toll pack trail, as well as from an accretion of Placer County Emigrant Road traffic from Auburn to the north shore of Lake Tahoe. Travellers on the former road, and often on the latter, were ferried across the lake to Glenbrook (Walton's Landing). Walton

also prospered from the heavy lumber business along his road from the Pray Mill at Glenbrook to Carson City and the Comstock.

The final gap between Glenbrook and Friday's Station was closed early in 1863 when the Lake Bigler Toll Road Company took over the Walton Road franchise. From Spooner's Summit eastward to Carson City, Road Superintendent Butler Ives, bypassing the difficult Walton Road down Clear Creek to Carson Valley, built a new road along the steep north slopes of Clear Creek Canyon to King's Canyon, and thence directly to Carson City. This road from Spooner's Summit to Carson City became known as the King's Canyon Road, a name it still bears. Walton's old Clear Creek road was relegated to local stage and freight use between Carson City and Glenbrook. West of Spooner's Station, Lake Bigler Toll Road crews improved and used the Walton Road down the north wall of Glenbrook Canyon to Glenbrook. The missing link between Glenbrook and Friday's, along the east shore of Lake Tahoe, was constructed on an alignment still largely followed by U. S. Highway 50. It was completed to Friday's by November 1863.

The Lake Bigler Toll Road was the last and finest link in the Placerville Turnpike road system. It was a well engineered and constructed route, with the easiest grades of any of the Bonanza Road links, and the lowest pass across the Carson Range. By the spring of 1864, the Pioneer Stage Lines and the heavy freight traffic that had been moving over the Kingsbury Grade and Daggett Pass east of Friday's Station were siphoned northward along Tahoe's east shore by the "Lakeshore Turnpike," as the new road became known. Its establishment was instrumental in opening the east shore of Lake Tahoe to permanent settlement, as at Zephyr Cove and Glenbrook. With the onset of the main thrust of the Comstock lumbering era at Lake Tahoe in the early 1870's, these new communities along the Placerville Turnpike on the lake's eastern shore, as well as many of those strung along the road's older reaches around Lake Tahoe's south margin, became thriving settlements. Many of them were the nuclei of today's urbanization and proliferation of development, particularly at the south end of the basin.

## The Placer County Emigrant Road

### **Scott's Route, 1849-1852**

This road entered Lake Tahoe Basin at present Tahoe City and wound its way along the lake's north shore to Mill Creek, the present Incline Village. Here the road turned eastward, looped its way up the Carson Range's steep west face between Mill Creek and Tunnel Creek, and over the west summit at Twin Lakes. From this pass the road literally fell into Little Valley, angled northeast across it, and crossed Franktown Creek. It then wound its way over the Carson Range's east summit and down into Washoe Valley. Here it tied into the old road along the west side of the valley connecting the Truckee branch of the California Emigrant Trail at Truckee Meadows to the northward and the Carson branch of the trail in Eagle Valley to the south.

The road's western terminus was at the Forks House, at the junction of the Yankee Jim and Iowa Hill roads in the Sierra foothills east of Auburn. From there it moved eastward along the Middle Fork of the American River for several miles, and thence along the ridge between the North Fork of the American and the North Middle Fork of that stream to Robinson's Flat, and after crossing the Middle Fork headwaters east of Sunflower Hill, to the main Sierra Nevada crest west of Squaw Valley. Crossing the divide at what is still known as Emigrant Pass, the route dropped down the east face of the range to Squaw Valley and thence down Squaw Creek to its confluence with the Truckee River. It made its way up that stream to Lake Tahoe (present Tahoe City), and thence eastward as previously described.

Originally known as Scott's Route, the road received its first use during 1849 and 1850, the two years when all feasible routes to the Mother Lode goldfields were crowded with hopeful gold seekers. After 1850 it fell into disuse until 1852, when the little Placer County gold camps clustered near its western terminus began to hunger for a road of their own to bring western emigrants to that part of the Mother Lode. Accordingly, they spent \$20,000 in improving the road, most of which was expended between Forks House and Squaw Valley, and formally named it the Placer County Emigrant Road.

### **The Placer County Emigrant Road, 1852 - 1868**

From 1852 to 1855, the improved and renamed road was traveled by some westbound emigrants. However, its forbiddingly steep and rugged character, plus the necessity of crossing three major Sierra summits along its route, caused it to be very lightly used, although it was a shorter and more direct connection between the Truckee and Carson Valleys east of the Sierra and the California gold fields. During this period most emigrant travel moved over the Carson Pass route south of the Lake basin,

or over the newly opened Henness Pass road to the north. Travel over the Placer County Road again languished.

In August 1856, after Thomas A. Young, Placer County Surveyor, and a party of six men inspected the route and rendered an enthusiastic report on its potential as a trans-Sierra wagon road, the road building fever again waxed high in Auburn, Forrest Hill, Yankee Jim's, and adjacent mining towns. A movement was started to raise the money necessary to rehabilitate and improve the road, but it never quite got off the ground. In July 1857, when the fortunes of the Placerville Road were beginning to improve after its 1856 nadir point, Young was regretfully notified by the Placer County officials that they had not been able to raise the necessary money.

So the road again lapsed into semi-oblivion until the 1859 Comstock silver excitement sent an east-bound wave of prospectors and miners flowing through every chink and crack in the Sierran wall into Nevada. The old emigrant route began to be used once more. In February 1860 the Placer County and Washoe Turnpike was organized to take over the road, and capital stock in the amount of \$50,000 was issued. However, this project, like its ambitious but abortive predecessors, was shelved before it got well off the ground. The construction of the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake Wagon Road over nearby Donner Pass in 1863-1864 soon began draining a significant portion of all Comstock-bound freight and passenger travel its way; travel over the Placer County route dropped to a mere trickle. Completion of the Central Pacific Railroad across the Sierra to Lake's Crossing (soon renamed Reno) in May 1868 completed this slow wasting-away. The road was completely abandoned then except for local travel along its lower western reaches.

In 1880 the Sierra Nevada Wood and Lumber Company reworked and widened that portion of the old wagon road over the Carson Range between the company's big sawmill on Mill Creek at Incline and the Virginia and Truckee Railroad in Washoe Valley. It used this road to haul lumber, mine timbers, and cordwood from the mill to the railway until 1882, when its V-flume from the head of the inclined-plane tramway at Incline to Lakeview Station on the V. & T. was constructed to do this job. After 1882, the road was used for access to and maintenance of the Virginia and Gold Hill Water Company's water flumes from Third Creek, Marlette Lake, and Hobart Reservoir to the inverted siphon at Lakeview, and thence to the Comstock.

In the 1920's, Robert Montgomery Watson, of Tahoe City, who had come to Lake Tahoe in 1875 and over the years had become one of its premier mountain men, guides, and early-day conservationists, searched out and marked the western half of the old road, from near Yankee Jim's to Squaw Valley. The Watson Monument at Emigrant Pass, on the Sierra crest above Squaw Valley, not only marks the route of the Placer County Emigrant Road, but is also a memorial to this early trailmarker. Watson Lake and Watson Peak are also named for this outstanding Lake Tahoe pioneer. Since 1954 Western States Trail Ride, Inc. has sponsored the Tevis Cup 100 Miles in One Day Ride over the old road, from Auburn to Lake Tahoe, to commemorate the hundreds of travellers who travelled this hardship-and danger-fraught route between 1849 and 1868.

Although the Placer County Emigrant Route's difficult terrain precluded any great migration flow into or across the Lake Tahoe Basin, in 1863 it became the principal contributory factor in the ultimate settlement and development of Lake Tahoe's north and northwest shores by whites. In June of 1863 two prospectors from Yankee Jim's, John Keiser and Shannon Knox, were making their way over the road enroute to Washoe (the early name for the Comstock). On the east bank of the Truckee River, just north of its junction with Squaw Creek, they discovered outcroppings of apparently very rich silver ore; a similar outcropping was discovered along the road a mile upriver.

A short-lived stampede, known as the Squaw Valley Silver Strike, developed immediately. By August more than 600 excited miners were in the area, and two towns sprang up - Knoxville, at the site of the original discovery, and Claraville, at the ore body a mile upstream. However, the bonanza was abortive; the promising ore was assayed as worthless, and by the end of the year the two new towns were deserted.

Although the strike had turned out to be a fiasco, its aftereffects were important. A handful of disappointed miners spread southward along Tahoe's north and west shores and began settling there. Tahoe City was so established, and little homesteads began appearing at many stream mouths along the west shore of the lake, from Carnelian Bay, Ward and Blackwood Creeks south to McKinney Creek. In this wise the hitherto little known and untapped timber, range, and recreational resources in the northern portion of the Lake basin became known, and settlers began flowing into that area.

## Georgetown-Rubicon Springs-McKinney Creek Road, 1860-1900

In 1915, George Wharton James characterized this little-known access route to the Lake Tahoe Region and western Nevada's Comstock mines as "a stern road, that would make the 'rocky road to Dublin' look like a flowery bed of ease . . ." It stretched 60 miles across the Sierra Nevada from the old Mother Lode mining camp of Georgetown to McKinney Station, midway along Lake Tahoe's west shore about two miles northwest of Sugar Pine Point.

Construction on this primitive way was started in 1860 by John and George Hunsaker and several Georgetown miners; the road was first used in the summer of 1861. Originally called the Georgetown-Lake Bigler Toll Pack Trail, its primary purpose was to shuttle fortune-seeking miners, freight, and supplies from the Auburn - Georgetown section of California's Mother Lode to the Comstock mines after the first big "Rush to Washoe" developed in 1859-1860. It followed an old Indian trail that climbed the western Sierra foothills eastward through the Rubicon River drainage to the curative waters of Rubicon Springs. From the Springs the Indian trail crossed the main Sierra crest at Burton Pass and down McKinney (Burton) Creek to the Indian fisheries and hunting grounds on Lake Tahoe.

This trail probably was followed westward by young Dan Murphy and his companions enroute from Lake Tahoe to their reunion with the main elements of the Stephens-Murphy-Townsend emigrant party on the lower American River late in 1844 (p. 5). Sherman Day inspected it in June 1855 on his survey of the Sierra Nevada for suitable road crossings, but he rejected it in favor of the easier South Fork American River-Johnson Pass crossing of the Sierra, which eventually became the Placerville Toll Road.

As laid out by the Georgetown miners in 1860-1861, the trail crossed the South Fork of the Rubicon a few miles above Georgetown. Then it traversed the ridge between the South Fork and the Main Fork to the hamlet of Wentworth Springs; thence eastward to Rubicon Springs, near the Rubicon headwaters. From Rubicon Springs the road climbed steeply out of the Rubicon's deep canyon and around a high point, Cape Horn, to Miller Creek and Miller Meadows. Just east of the Meadows is the low depression in the main Sierra crest called Burton Pass, first used by Dan Murphy in 1844 to exit from the Lake Tahoe Basin. The trail crossed Burton Pass and continued to McKinney Lake and the headwaters of McKinney Creek; it followed the creek for approximately 7 miles to John McKinney's Hunter's Retreat station on the lake (now Chambers Lodge). McKinney, another refugee from the abortive 1863 Knoxville silver excitement, settled on the west shore of Lake Tahoe late in 1863 at the mouth of the stream that bears his name.

At McKinney Station the travellers and pack trains were ferried across Lake Tahoe to Walton's Landing by the schooner **Iron Duke** or the sloop **Edith Batty**, according to Scott's Lake Tahoe history. Walton's Landing, soon renamed Glenbrook, was the eastern over-water terminus of the Georgetown Pack Trail. From here the Nevada-bound travellers followed the Rufus Walton Toll Road to Carson City and the Comstock camps. After 1863, the Rufus Walton Toll Road became a portion of the Lake Bigler Toll Road.

The Placerville Toll Road over Johnson Pass to the south was the best and fastest route to the Comstock in 1863. After completion of the Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Wagon Road over Donner Pass in 1864, eastbound travel over the toilsome, dangerous Georgetown route almost completely ceased. However, by the late 1860's westbound traffic over the Glenbrook-McKinney Station-Rubicon Springs section of the trail more than compensated for the semi-abandonment of its western stretches. Crowds of recreation and relaxation-seeking Comstockers and other western Nevadans came to John McKinney's Hunter's Retreat to enjoy its fabled hunting and fishing. Their numbers were further augmented by sick and exhausted miners and other health-seekers who moved on westward to the Hunsaker brothers' renowned spa and resort at Rubicon Springs.

By the early 1880's McKinney's original lonely hunting camp had become a flourishing summer village, along with adjacent Moana Vista a short distance to the south, and Rubicon Springs was known far and wide for the curative powers of its mineral water. As early as 1880 the Hunsakers began bottling this water and packing it out by horse and mule train to Georgetown and McKinney's.

In 1886 Mrs. Sierra Nevada Phillips Clark bought out the Hunsakers, who had become too old and tired to properly develop their flourishing business. She added the Potter Springs, one mile eastward up the Rubicon, to her holdings, and began a complete revamping of the resort property. First she prevailed upon El Dorado County to develop the Georgetown-McKinney Station Pack Trail into a wagon road; this was completed in 1887, but it was far from equalling Placerville Tool Road

standards. By 1880 she had completed a two-and-one-half story 16-room frame hotel, built of lumber ferried from the Glenbrook mills to McKinney's and then hauled by wagon to the Springs. This new building replaced the rambling log structure originally built by the Hunsakers in the late 1860's.

Mrs. Clark soon became known as the finest cook in the central Sierra. The quality of her food, as well as the elegance of her hotel's dining room and other accomodations, brought throngs of vacationers and health-seekers over the new road. To aid visitors in reaching her hotel, this energetic lady placed in service a 6-passenger, 4-horse carryall between McKinney's Station and Rubicon Springs. After 1910 the carryall was replaced by an auto stage.

The lure of the three resorts -- McKinney's, Moana Villa after the early 1890's, and Rubicon Springs -- guaranteed relatively heavy local and seasonal vehicular travel over the entire Georgetown-McKinney Road during the 1880's and 1890's, long after completion of the Central Pacific in 1868 had eliminated transregional travel on other Lake Tahoe Basin roads. However the coming of the railroad to Truckee was deleterious even to the subject road. It led to improvement of the winding and tortuous stage road from Truckee to Tahoe City, and the institution of regular steamer service from Tahoe City to the other resort areas which were beginning to spring up around Lake Tahoe's shores. All these factors together had a damaging impact on the western section of the road, from Georgetown to Rubicon Springs. It was much easier to take the railroad - stagecoach - steamer combination to McKinney's or Moana Vista, and thence by horseback or carryall to Rubicon Springs, than to risk life and limb in the wracking trip from Georgetown to those resorts via the road. After completion of the Lake Tahoe Railway and Navigation Company's narrow gauge railroad between Truckee and Tahoe City in 1900, this negative impact was even more severe. The road from Georgetown to Rubicon Springs lapsed into almost complete disuse and soon became impassable. The portion from McKinney's and Moana Vista to Rubicon Springs was abandoned in 1930 after the land and improvements at the old spa were sold to a power company that year and permanently closed. The crumbling old hotel building stood until the heavy snows of the winter of 1953-1954 crushed it into splintered boards and rubble.

During the early 1950's an annual 2-day 4-wheel-drive cavalcade began traversing the road each July from Georgetown to Chambers Lodge (old McKinney Station). This event has grown in importance each year since its inception; now several hundred 4-wheel-drive and other cross-country type vehicles participate each summer. A county road has been built on the old trace from Georgetown to Wentworth Springs, but above that point the road is barely passable, even for such specialized equipment as 4-wheel drive vehicles or cross-country motor bikes.

### Truckee-Tahoe City Stage Road

According to Scott, the first wagon road between Coburn's Station, present Truckee, and the north shore of Lake Tahoe was built in 1860 by John Huntington. It was called the Tahoe-Truckee Toll Road, but played no part then in the development of Lake Tahoe's north shore. The road had no terminal towns or connecting roads to give it a reason for being until the founding of Tahoe City in 1863 and Coburn's Station on the Truckee in 1864.

In 1864 the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake Wagon Road was completed over Donner Pass and down to Truckee Meadows (present Reno), and Coburn's log shanty and public house then became a stage station on that road. Coburn's Station was renamed Truckee late in 1868, after the original stage station and a cluster of buildings immediately west of the present town site had burned in July.

Likewise, Tahoe City was not laid out until Captain Ernest Pomin, another ex-Knoxville miner, founded it late in 1863. The Huntington road was reputed to be not much more than a winding, twisting path, barely wide enough for one wagon. It was not until after the Central Pacific Railroad was completed to Lake's Crossing (Reno) in May 1868 that the primitive Truckee-Tahoe City road began to be improved. In the early 1870's a new entity, The Truckee River and Tahoe Lake Turnpike Company, was created; it absorbed the earlier wagon road enterprise. The road was soon widened and vastly improved. From the 1870's until completion of the Bliss narrow-gauge railroad between Truckee and Tahoe City as the rail link in their Lake Tahoe Railway and Navigation Company transportation enterprise, traffic over the stage road rivalled that of the earlier Placerville Toll Road around Tahoe's south side. The stage road was the principal route through which development of the north end of the lake was finally able to get fully under way.

With full development of the stage and freight road between the Central Pacific at Truckee and Tahoe City, the lake's northern reaches first began to dominate the south-end communities. It was much easier to ride trains to Truckee from western California points, take a short stage ride to Tahoe City, and then

by comfortable steamer reach all points on the lake, than to endure the long, hard stage trip from Placerville to the Lake. Furthermore, freight and supplies moved much faster, easier, and with less duress over the new route combination. Accordingly, Tahoe City and the contiguous north-lake communities became important, not only in their own right as lumbering and recreation centers, but Tahoe City emerged as the principal transshipment point for steamer freight and passenger service to all points on the lake.

After completion of the L.T.R. & N. narrow gauge railroad between Truckee and Tahoe City in 1900, this shift in relative importance between north and south was accelerated. The trend continued during the 1920's and was accentuated in 1927 when the Southern Pacific completed standard-gauging of the old Bliss Truckee-Tahoe City narrow-gauge railroad. Then, for the first time, passengers and freight could leave the Bay Area at night and be in Tahoe City early the next day.

By the late 1930's, however, increased auto travel brought on by the improvement of U. S. Highway 50 along the old 1863 Placerville Toll Road route between Carson City and Placerville began to swing the pendulum into something nearer a balance between north-lake and south-lake. In the winter of 1940-1941 this balance was further effected when the hitherto snowed-in highway over Echo Pass began to be kept open year round.

### **The Truckee-Brockway Road (Brockway Cutoff)**

Although Scott records that 25 tons of wild hay were harvested off the meadows adjacent to present Brockway as early as 1862, it was not until almost 10 years later that this area was tied to the Central Pacific Railroad at Truckee. As early as 1867, however, while the Central Pacific's Chinese crews were still struggling to push the Summit Tunnel through Donner Pass rock above Truckee and Celestial graders and trackmen were busy laying rails in Truckee Canyon between Truckee and the Nevada-California line, wagon road planners were busy.

Many Truckee citizens had begun thinking about and agitating for a road from their town north along the middle fork of Martis Creek and over the lake basin's north rim to Tahoe Hot Springs (Campbell Hot Springs, Brockway Hot Springs). However, it was not until July 1869 that George Schaeffer, prominent Truckee logger and lumberman, and William Campbell, stageline entrepreneur, joined forces to build the road between Truckee and Broadway. The road was completed a month later, and Campbell began constructing a two and one-half story hotel and outlying cottages at the springs. The name Tahoe Hot Springs was changed to Campbell Hot Springs when the hotel and five cottages were completed in the summer of 1870.

The springs and their adjacent resort went through a series of changes of ownership and name between 1870 and 1900. In 1900 Frank Brockway Alverson acquired the resort and gave his middle name to it; that name is still in use.

At Brockway, connections with Lake Tahoe steamers could be made, and connections by stage between there and Truckee. In the spring of 1874 C. A. Richardson, who had leased the hot springs resort from Campbell and his partner Henry Burke, built a wagon road between Campbell Hot Springs, Tahoe City, and McKinney Station. This route, largely now used by California State Highway 28 along the north shore and California 89 along the west shore of the Lake, helped tie together these northwest Lake Tahoe communities and further augmented their development. According to Scott, 11 carryall stages and 35 horses were used to stock the stageline operating over the new road.

### **SETTLEMENT AND THE BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE**

By the early 1860's the settlement pattern that now characterizes much of the Lake Tahoe Region, and particularly the south end during much of the Comstock period, was becoming evident but not prominent. In 1859, the spread of toll stations, road houses, inns, and trading posts was rapid but limited - - that is, limited areally to strategic locations along roads or near passes most heavily traveled in the basin. The shift in emphasis of the routes in the southeast section of the basin from 1859 to 1868 (Luther Pass to Spooner's Summit) changed the fortunes of some roadhouses; some declined rapidly and their owners either relocated their stations or abandoned them. A series of small clusters of transportation-related activity developed at intervals in the basin, from Johnson Pass through Lake

Valley to Spooner's Summit. These small settlement nodes grew around the more prominent toll stations or inns along the Placerville Turnpike. Ranches and farms were started close by or in conjunction with the stations, to supply them with food. As traffic increased along the roads, these agricultural businesses expanded laterally away from the toll and way stations, so that the intervals between stations were increasingly filled by agricultural-ranching-dairying enterprises.

What had started as an adjunct to the way stations soon became a chief business of the region, at least on the fairly level ground. The market for food products soon became concentrated and urban. As the Comstock Lode became more industrialized, a fairly steady pattern of supplying the needs of the Lode's mines and towns developed. With longer distances between stops because of improved road conditions, many early inns and way stations lost their importance, and the agricultural and timber resources of the Tahoe region became increasingly important. While the roads were still busy, a somewhat rough but pastoral character emerged in sections of the basin, chiefly in the Lake Valley area at the south end.

Meadowlands around the basin, especially at creek mouths along the west and south shores, as at Meeks Bay and Lake Valley, were appropriated, and wild hay was cut. Beef and dairy cattle were grazed on these lands. Since acquiring land was essentially a matter of preempting unsurveyed lands, the holdings were usually large - - roughly in units of 160 or 320 acres. The only limiting factor was what a man could reasonably operate. Exact boundaries of many holdings claimed were never delineated, and perhaps seemed secondary. Ownerships changed frequently as new opportunities offered greater gains in the speculative atmosphere characteristic of the Comstock logging period.

As the number of way stations declined when more settled use patterns were established, the number of visitors to the Comstock cities, as well as those wanting to escape the summer heat, noise and drabness of Virginia City, Gold Hill, and Silver City, increased. Consequently, a nascent resort industry began appearing in the early 1860's. This marked the first conscious shift to lakefront sites for a reason other than transportation or agricultural purposes, although a few inns had been built along the shoreline from the beginning. Prior to this time, the lakefront area on the south end had been off the main road to the mines, or was considered too swampy. During the 1860's ranching, dairying, and lumbering increased in the basin; inns that had served transients on their way to the mines now began to accommodate seasonal people, and many began to resemble boardinghouses. One result of this new resort industry and the expansion in agricultural productivity was that many units of land were sold or divided as their owners developed other interests or moved to new locations within the basin. The flatlands of Lake Valley became the chief center of intrabasin food production, and a long period of land subdivision began which eventually led to the present fragmented pattern of ownership along the south shore.

The eastern extension of the Central Pacific Railroad north of the basin as far as Nevada in 1868 created a locational shift in the transportation of men and supplies to the north end of the lake, because railroad rates were too competitive for wagon-freight operations in the basin's middle and southern sectors. Inns and way stations that provided transportation-oriented service functions in the south basin declined rapidly. The basin's food-producing activities continued to expand there, and further elaborated the spatial structure of the basin. The next major spurt of activity resulted from the growing demands for lumber, stimulated by the increasingly complex and difficult mining conditions on the Comstock.

## COMSTOCK LUMBERING (1861-1898)

The nature of the mineral deposits of the Comstock generated a number of mining innovations, principal among which was the square-set method of timbering. In the Lake Tahoe Basin this latter development was translated into a vastly accelerated demand for timber (See map, **Logged Areas**.) What began as a mixed sawmill-farming operation for local use in the early 1860's at Glenbrook by Captain Augustus Pray, and by Robert Woodburn in upper Lake Valley, became in the 1870's a highly competitive industrial struggle among several large lumber firms for control of the Lake basin's timber stands. The Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Company (or Bliss and Yerington), formed in 1873 with headquarters at Glenbrook, emerged as the largest operator; its holdings around the basin, either owned outright or leased, at one time totaled approximately one-fifth of the region's land area. Much of this land was relatively close to or included extensive stretches of lakefront.

After this company had stripped the timbered slopes of the eastcentral portion of the region, it shifted cutting operations to the south end of the lake, and extended a narrow-gauge railroad throughout Lake

Valley to the Meyers area to speed its work there. Logs from Lake Valley were hauled to Bijou, rafted to the sawmills at Glenbrook, sawed up and hauled to Spooner's Summit on another narrow-gauge railroad, and then carried by V-flume to the outskirts of Carson City. From there the lumber, cordwood, and mine timbers were transshipped to the standard-gauge Virginia and Truckee Railroad for their final trip to the Carson River stampmills and the Comstock mines. As the supply of prime timber, chiefly sugar pine and Jeffrey pine, was depleted at the south end of the lake, the Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Company directed its seasonal forays to the west shore, along the lake front from Rubicon Bay northward to the Tahoe City area. In the meantime, the Sierra Nevada Wood and Lumber Company (W. S. Hobart), its chief competitor, was cutting in the northern and northeastern portions of the region, inland from Crystal and Agate Bays, and bringing its logs to Incline, where an impressive combination of railroads, sawmills, inclined-plane tramways and V-flumes cut and moved the lumber, cordwood, and timber over the crest of the Carson Range to the Comstock mines. The Donner Lumber and Boom Company logged the northwestern section of the Lake Tahoe region, and along the Truckee River and Sawtooth Ridge area between Tahoe City and Truckee. The Pacific Wood, Lumber, and Flume Company, the fourth and last of the large Comstock logging and lumbering complexes, operated in the extreme northeastern area of the region and along the east front of the Carson Range north of the basin. Much of this logging was on a contract basis, in which local loggers supplied stipulated volumes of timber for the large firms.

All the large lumber companies attempted to acquire as much timber land as possible, often by measures closely bordering on the fraudulent, in order to have a reserve supply for peak periods of demand and to prevent competitors from improving their positions. Timber was cut as fast as possible when demand was high; during peak periods of mining activity as much as 72 million feet were cut in one year. Just as operating a toll station or roadside inn often was more immediately profitable than mining itself, so was supplying timber to the mines. All the lumber combines were actually subsidiaries of either the Ralston Ring (Bank of California), a group of mining and milling companies, or the Big Four (Bonanza King) group. Consequently, the proceeds from their lumber companies helped the mining firms during low periods. Even when productivity of the mines was declining during the 1880's and 1890's and the mines were becoming more difficult to operate because of extreme depth, heat, and bad water problems, the need for fuel and for lumber shoring remained high. It continued to be a major expense until the last of the big mines ceased to be profitable in the late 1890's.

Mining operations at Virginia City, Gold Hill, and Silver City, and lumbering operations in the Lake Tahoe region, with their scenic logging railroads, flumes, and sawmills, constituted a growing tourist attraction. The Lake itself was the scene of much activity: rafts of logs were being towed to sawmills at Glenbrook and excursion steamers served the lakeside towns. At the end of the mining period, some logging was still carried on in the basin, but on a greatly reduced scale, and the resort industry was becoming increasingly important. The Southern Pacific Railroad, formerly the Central Pacific, brought tourists to Truckee and then by stagecoach (later by train) to Tahoe City, where they could travel by steamer to other lakeside sites. Ranching and dairying in the south shore area declined in importance as the Comstock mining population decreased, but the enlarging resort development soon absorbed some of this slack in demand for food. Toll Roads deteriorated rapidly after 1868 for lack of use and maintenance. The northwestern area of the region was becoming more important for access to Lake Tahoe and helped establish the resorts there.

By the end of the principal productive period of the Comstock mines in 1888, most of the prime accessible lumber in the basin had been logged; little of the lofty virgin timber stands remained except in the less accessible locations, and large tracts of land around the lake had come under the control of a few large lumber companies. Practically all the land in the eastern portion of the region in Nevada was owned by a few private owners with large contiguous holdings, such as the Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Company and the Sierra Nevada Wood and Lumber Company, and continued to be so held until recent times. The effect of private ownership of such large areas and their non-development after the timber was cut significantly affected Lake Tahoe's subsequent land development. At the south end, land that had more potential value as pasture following the decline of the trans-Sierra roads as prime transportation routes there was cleared of much of its timber and converted into grazing land. Timber-cutting rights were usually leased rather than sold outright; so the size of holdings there never became as large as in the eastern portion of the basin. However, comparatively large acreages could still be obtained. Periods of fluctuating activity on the Comstock were reflected in land prices and the availability of land. At times cleared land in the south shore area that was unsuitable for pasturage could be bought for only \$1.25 or \$1.50 an acre, and sometimes such land included lake frontage.

Interestingly enough, the California Legislature had the opportunity in 1883 to develop a State forest preserve along the west central area of the basin before logging operations reached it, but it did not avail itself of the possibility and the area was soon logged.

In effect then, although the end of the Comstock mining era stopped much destructive logging activity at Lake Tahoe and allowed the basin to revegetate itself, it did not appreciably change the pattern of land ownership. Subsequent resort and recreational developments had to adapt to the pattern of these large land holdings, and to the already established pattern of land and water transportation routes. These factors all significantly affected development of land around the Lake.

## **POST-COMSTOCK PERIOD — THE SARATOGA OF THE PACIFIC (1890-MID-1950'S)**

The patterns of land use that influenced most activity in the Lake Tahoe area during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth were basically elaborations of earlier developments stimulated by their functional associations with the Comstock. These patterns of use continued relatively unchanged in their own right beyond that era until the advent of the new-style gambling casinos in the mid-1950's and the increasing dominance of automobile-oriented facilities. (Gambling has been legal in Nevada since 1931.)

The basic pattern during the post-Comstock period was a mixture of commercial resort businesses, agricultural production supplying food for the resorts and estates, the seasonal use of pasture lands for beef cattle, the growth of many large private holdings or estates, and the residual holdings of the old Comstock Era lumber companies. In many respects this combination of land uses was ecologically harmonious (a little lumbering was still being carried on in the basin during this period, mostly in the northwest section), and limited the intensive use of the basin to the season from May through September. An interesting locational change took place during this period, when emphasis on development shifted to the lakeshore itself, because of the dominance of the resort-estate owners and users, and the considerable use of the lake for intrabasin transportation. The lakefront became the focus of a true seasonal resort development during this period, and the basin itself was essentially freed from domination and exploitation of its resources by the Comstock.

Three major resort hotel areas developed -- Tahoe City, Glenbrook, and the Tallac House. At the south end some early inns were converted to serving tourists, with a few amenities added; however, some of them were resort hotels in name only. Each major area was dominated by one major luxury hotel, with a few small surrounding facilities. At the south shore it was "Lucky" Baldwin's Tallac House; on the east shore it was Glenbrook Inn, and in the Tahoe City area it was the Grand Central Hotel, and later the Tahoe Tavern. These large luxury hotels were practically self-sufficient; they provided most of their own foodstuffs and resembled small villages, as did the larger estates. All the settlements around the lake were served by steamers, which made regularly scheduled stops during the summer.

Early in 1907 the Federal Government began withdrawing large areas of public domain in the Lake Tahoe basin, chiefly in the southwestern section, to establish the Tahoe Forest Reserve. An Act of Congress approved March 4, 1907, changed the name "Forest Reserve" to "National Forest," and in 1910 the Eldorado National Forest was carved out of the Tahoe National Forest lands in the southern half of the basin in California. In July 1940 the Mono National Forest took over the Tahoe National Forest lands on the Nevada side of the lake basin. The Mono National Forest was combined with the Toiyabe National Forest in January 1944, and until July 1945 this combination was known as the Mono-Toiyabe. After 1945 this name was shortened to Toiyabe National Forest; this unit administers the National Forest lands in the Nevada portion of the Lake Tahoe Basin. National Forests cover more than 50% of the basin's land area.

Most of the National Forest land has been far enough from the lake front that it has not significantly influenced the development pattern, except perhaps in the Tahoe Valley area. The Southern Pacific Railroad lands, chiefly in the northwestern section of the basin, which were not sold to lumber companies in the 1870's and 1880's, as well as that company's shoreline property which was not sold, have remained undeveloped. These lands are some of the few remaining large properties in the basin whose future use has not been decided. Topography also limited some lakefront areas for development on any scale, as in the Emerald Bay Area.

In the 1930's, roads to the Lake Tahoe Basin from California were paved, and for the first time Lake Tahoe became accessible to automobile tourism and public recreation. The principal new highway into the basin (U. S. Highway 50) brought most of the people to the south shore, and soon many rustic summer cabins, relatively small and on fairly small lots (usually less than an acre), clustered near the lakefront, particularly near Al Tahoe and Bijou, which now are part of the City of South Lake Tahoe.

In 1931, Lake Valley still retained the pastoral summer resort tone of the post-Comstock period and was described by one observer as an area dominated by summer cattle ranches. The Depression caused the breakup of some larger estates and some changes in their ownership, but much of the lakefront property remained in large units. One of the most notable real estate transactions took place in 1938 when George Whittell assembled a continuous strip of property from the Bliss and Hobart estates on the east side of the lake, which totalled more than 30,000 acres. These holdings stretched from Crystal Bay south to old Hobart, at the Nevada State line, excluding only the land around Glenbrook, which the Bliss family still owns. Until 1969 the Whittell holdings, except the lands at Incline and around the old Skyland Lodge which were sold off by Whittell between 1958 and 1960, were kept largely intact despite strong inducements to develop them. As such, they had an important role in limiting development along the east shore of the lake and in providing a scenic backdrop and some open-space recreation. Other estates were added to or broken up during the 1930's, but only near the Truckee outlet and at the shore was there much subdivision activity.

The restrictive exclusiveness of the old luxury hotels declined because of the advent of the automobile and the trend toward middle class accommodations; these hotels and resorts began declining and deteriorating until either fire or dismantlement removed them from the scene. Still, in 1947, at the beginning of the new postwar awareness of Tahoe, the essential character of the preceding 60 years at Lake Tahoe had not been greatly altered, and the caption under a magazine picture of Stateline that year described the area as one where tall graceful evergreens lined both sides of the highway like an avenue of palms. This was the area where today's neon jungle is now in full flower.

Though the resort hotels, estate homes, cabins, and other structures were not numerous, the buildings and surrounding grounds absorbed much of the shoreline; that is, much of the perimeter of the lake became privately owned for recreational uses. What was particularly significant was that a relatively small number of owners could acquire large areas of prime lakefront property and maintain it in large parcels for long periods of time, thus creating a development condition which restricted the amount of lakefront available for subdividing. This prevented fragmentation of the shoreline, for awhile at least. The role of these estates and their inertial effect on development needs to be emphasized.

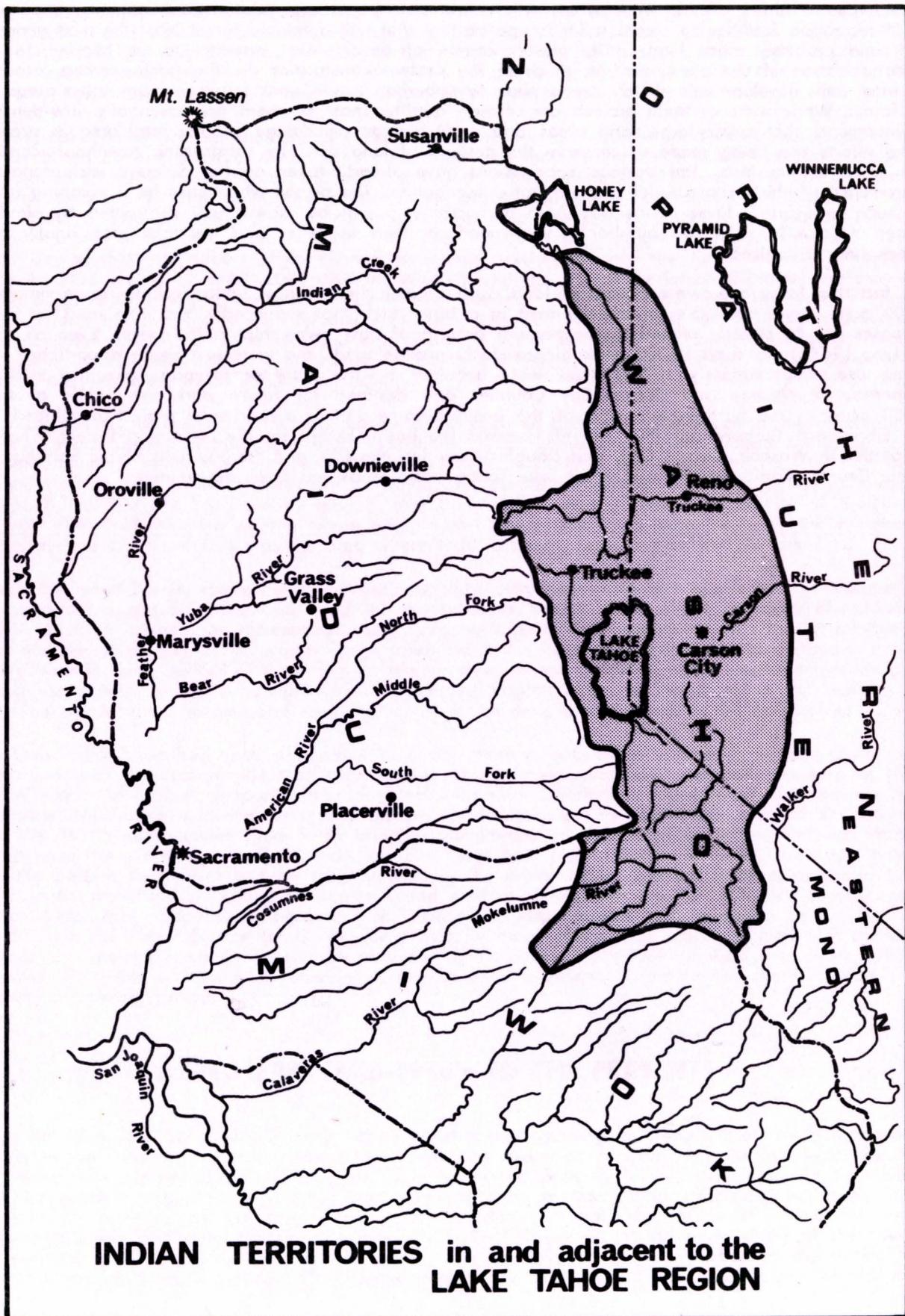
Even though the basin had been stripped of its usable timber, with major ecological consequences, an indirect result of that action was that large parcels of land became readily available because of the way in which the lumber companies had acquired land to facilitate their operations. After having cut the timber, they often sold the land very cheaply, particularly on the California side of the basin. Since the 1920's automobiles have been bringing vacationers to the basin in large numbers; these people have bought many small lakeside lots and have built second homes on them. This could have been the pattern that developed for the shoreline in the entire basin, but the large estates and the public lands prevented it. Today the eastern and western shores, although by no means undisturbed, are not cluttered by subdivisions, because many of the old large estates were acquired by California, Nevada, and the Forest Service for public use. Ironically, many of the large parcels of land now coming into public ownership owe their existence indirectly to the large block type of land ownership which remained after the wholesale destruction of the basin's magnificent virgin timber stands during the Comstock lumbering period.

## **CASINO ERA (MID-1950's TO THE PRESENT)**

The relatively bucolic basin of the early 1950's which was beginning to prepare itself for a moderate increase in the number of families who desired weekend and summer cottages at the lake was rapidly and irrevocably altered by the building of large gaming casinos in Stateline, Nevada, in the mid-1950's, and the change in use patterns from summer only to year-round operation. Although the area actually occupied by the casinos themselves is relatively small, the impact of related developments, particularly along the California portion of U. S. Highway 50 at the south shore of the Lake, has created a gaudy kaleidoscope that has become the stereotyped image of Tahoe in the minds of many. As important as this type of development is to the character of the basin, other significant

developmental forces are at work which will combine with gaming, related developments, and seasonal recreation facilities to create a landscape pattern that will dominate for at least the next generation, and probably much longer. The present course of development appears to be headed for a suburbanization of the basin; that is, much of the present construction in the basin centers around planned unit developments which are similar to suburban subdivisions found in many other areas of California. While some of these projects are of high quality, most of them are essentially low-density developments that cover large land areas and have a large percentage of their total area in streets. Some efforts are being made to conserve the amount of land used by constructing townhouse-condominium style housing. The various subdivisions have already taken on the different socioeconomic characteristics which provide for instant status recognition. The person who thinks he is escaping from his suburban surroundings in the Bay Area or Sacramento will be increasingly confronted by similar scenes at Lake Tahoe as the number of year-round residents increases and the lake area finally becomes fully urbanized.

The fact that large one-owner parcels of land, such as at Incline Village, which includes approximately 9,000 acres, were available for development in a basin area that supposedly had little land for such purposes can be directly related to the peculiar pattern of past ownership in the basin. Even as late as June 1967, more than 18,000 acres of previously undeveloped land were just being apportioned for future use. Approximately 10,000 acres were acquired by the State of Nevada from the Whittell properties in Washoe and Carson City Counties, and destined for future park use, while another 8,000 acres in the northwestern part of the basin became part of a residential project (developed by the Fibreboard Corporation) that extends beyond the basin. Except for the remaining former Whittell properties in Washoe, Carson City, and Douglas Counties, Nevada, and the Southern Pacific holdings in Placer County, California, the use of all Lake Tahoe basin lands has been determined.



## ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC WASHO

Traditionally the Washo, or Washiu, as they called themselves, inhabited the western fringe of the Great Basin, but their travels extended over the crest of the Sierra (see following map). They wandered seasonally from one life zone to another, usually remaining in valleys along the eastern edge of the mountains during the winter and moving up to and over the crest of the Sierra from early spring until late fall. They were never sedentary, except perhaps in their winter villages. During most of the year they were divided into small family groups that wandered along traditional routes in search of food.

The American Anthropologist A. L. Kroeber (1953) commented that their speech was rather pleasant to ears accustomed to English, and that their language was distinct from those of the Shoshonean, Mono, and Paiute tribes with whom they associated.<sup>1</sup> As for the Washo temperament, he commented:

For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true California habit . . . Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

<sup>1</sup> For pronunciation of phonetic symbols of Washo speech, see p. 21

An ethnographic account of the Washo is beyond the scope of this brief report. Suffice it to say that they were hunters and gatherers; most of their subsistence came from gathering and fishing. They did not practice agriculture in any form; nor did they exploit pottery or the horse when knowledge of these resources became available to them. They seem to have been well adapted to their environment.

The Washo were not a warring people; they seem to have had few violent encounters with their neighbors on either side of the Sierra -- an important point when one considers the fact that their non-nuclear range was used by other Indians who, at least in early historic times, were more prone to warfare.

### PREHISTORY

Considering the increasing anthropological research on the Washo, it seems surprising that research into the prehistory of the Lake Tahoe Region has been so neglected. Several unpublished surveys have been conducted -- usually as part of a reconnaissance in a non-Basin area -- by the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Nevada at Reno. One area has been excavated near Spooner Lake; results of that study are now in press.

To derive understanding of the cultural evolution of any human population, the scholar must first attempt to place that population accurately within a time and space framework. This initial task usually receives impetus from various guesses or hypotheses by anthropologists whose special interests may be linguistics, biological variations, ecological adaptations, social structures, and technology. Evaluations of known information relevant to these and other topics lead anthropologists to formulate hypotheses about the origin and development of the particular problem or question under study. For instance, linguists have concurred that the Washo, a Hokan-speaking people, broke from the other recorded Hokan-speakers between 4,000 and 5,000 years ago. Their "guess" is based upon both observation of the facts as they existed among Washo speakers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as upon generally acknowledged theories about how human languages change through time and space (Lamb, 1958; Kroeber, 1955; Jacobsen, 1966).

In terms of Washo biology, two specialists have argued on the basis of anthropomorphic evidence that the Washo fall into a general "California" and a "Great Basin" physical type; this suggests close genetic relation to surrounding populations. This observation supports the linguistic contention that the Washo of historic times are part of a continuous *in situ* population that has existed for at least 4,000 years. Evidence from other anthropological studies also suggests that the Washo experienced a continuous and long temporal adaption to their protohistoric environment. These hypotheses are best tested by direct evidence from undisturbed prehistoric remains. If archaeologists cannot collect the data necessary for making various kinds of tests, then these hypotheses will remain nothing more than educated guesses.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Archaeological research, including collecting of field data and the results derived from data analysis, can be characterized only as incipient in the western Great Basin-Sierra region. Most research has focused on the general Great Basin area. Major research at a few deposits in an archaeological complex called the "Desert Culture" has indicated that man was living in the Great Basin as long ago as 15,000 years. Even fewer major research projects have been concluded in the High Sierra-Lake Tahoe region. Nonetheless, two typologically defined complexes have been mentioned in the literature: the Martis Complex, which is assumed to date from about 10,000 years ago, and the Kings Beach complex, which is said to identify the prehistoric Washo back to about 5,000 years.

Review of the limited archaeological literature relating to the prehistory of the Lake Tahoe Basin suggests (1) that many questions remain to be tested at archaeological deposits; (2) that the confusion and disagreement among archaeologists about interpreting California and Great Basin prehistory will be decidedly clearer when data from the Lake Tahoe Region are recovered and interpreted; (3) that the prehistory of the Washo is a pivotal point in understanding the majority of their neighbors, who were, unlike the Washo, adapted to a less diverse natural environment; and (4) that the continuing ethnographic research with contemporary Washo seriously needs information that can be gathered only from prehistoric sites.

## WASHO AND ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE CONTACT AND CHANGE

John C. Fremont wrote the first description of the Washoes' contact with whites as he passed through their territory in 1844. Some of his observations follow:

(January 24) "A man was discovered running toward the camp as we were about to start this morning . . . He seized the hand of the first man he met as he came up, out of breath, and held on as if to assure himself of protection. He brought with him in a little skin a few pounds of seeds of a pine tree . . . he engaged to conduct us in sight of a good pass which he knew. Here we ceased to hear the Shoshone language . . . several Indians who had been waiting to see what reception he would meet with now came into camp, and accompanied by the newcomers, we resumed our journey."

(January 25) "A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each one carried a little bag. These seemed now to be the staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted of offering a few nuts to eat and to trade; their only arms were bows and flint-pointed arrows."

(January 28) "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance. Godey . . . heard a low whistle near, and looking up saw two Indians half-hiding behind a rock about forty yards distant, they would not allow him to approach, but breaking into a laugh, skimmed off over the snow."

(January 31) "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians; some of them were furnished with long nets in addition to bows, and appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits . . . They came among us without fear, and scattered themselves about the fires, mainly occupied in gratifying their astonishment . . . a somewhat old man . . . told me that before the snows fell, it was six sleeps to the place where the whites lived, but that now it was impossible to cross the mountains on account of the deep snow . . . there was one among them who had been to the Whites, and going to the lodge, he returned with a young man of intelligent appearance . . . with a large present of goods we prevailed upon this young man to be our guide, and he acquired among us the name of Melo - - a word signifying friend."

(February 4) "Two Indians jointed our party here; and one of them, an old man, immediately began to harangue us, saying that ourselves and our animals would perish in the snow, and that if we would go back, he would show us another and a better way across the mountain."

Other men's journals from that year give similar unflattering reports of the Washo. They indicate that early contacts with whites failed to influence Washo culture significantly.

What has been called the Frontier-American phase of Washo-white contacts began in 1847. Between then and the mid-1850's four major events foreshadowed the direction of future history in the area. They were:

1. Establishment of a store at Woodfords, California.
2. Discovery of gold in California (1848) and the cutting of a wagon road over Carson Pass.
3. The "Gold Rush" of thousands of whites through Washo country.
4. Establishment of farms by whites in the early 1850's in valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

These events are important because they opened a series of similar activities that in time increased white influence on traditional Washo culture. Opening up roads made possible access to areas they had never previously entered; they could now move freely into Miwok, Maidu, and Paiute territory. They began to use these roads, to visit stores, to trade with or steal from travelers, and to use things that whites threw away. This change in territorial and economic patterns was an adaptation common to many Great Basin and California tribes, and recorded examples are numerous in contemporary journals. Historians have pointed out that even though many white settlers came through Washo territory in the 1840's and 1850's, it was not until 1859 that the Washo became outnumbered and essentially lost their territory to the whites.

We can conveniently consider 1858 as the year when the Frontier-American phase of Washo-white cultural contact ended, for in that year population numbers shifted sharply. After discovery of the Comstock Lode at Virginia City in 1859, an influx of some 20,000 persons flowed into Washo territory and by the early 1860's the population ratio was about 15 to 1 in favor of the non-Washo.

By 1861, Washo life had changed so much that Warren Wasson, United States Indian Agent, reported that the Indians had learned that "the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them, or help them at least." The reasons were not difficult to see. All their accustomed fishing streams had been ruined by the mining operations. The Lake Tahoe basin, which was part of their territory, had been taken over by the whites as a watering place; they kept the Washo from coming to the lake, which had been a great source of fish for food. Likewise, the hills and plains where game had roamed were occupied by the whites, and the game had all fled. By the end of the decade, the Washo were slowly moving in around white towns and farms and were trying to eke out existence as best they could by minor labor and trading.

The last nomadic tribe of Washoes finally became sedentary and totally dependent on the dominant white culture in the 1920's. Only a few of their aboriginal practices persist, in somewhat modified form; for the most part, contemporary Washo remain on the fringes of white society.

Today the situation of the Washo is desperate. As part of an extremely small minority group he suffers from poverty and discrimination. In Nevada few jobs are available that do not involve gaming enterprises, and discrimination is widespread. Relocation programs initiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the poverty of the Washoes met "complete rejection" (Scotch, 1963). One Washo's comments on Bureau-sponsored relocation reveal the typical attitude:

Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agree to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with them to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC SITES IN THE LAKE TAHOE REGION

Information about the sites marked on the map "Archaeological and Ethnographic Sites" is based on information published by Stanley A. Freed (1966). Location of Washo trails on this map is based on unpublished information gathered by Warren d'Azavedo. Washo tribal and geographic names are used in the following information about the geographic sites; they are represented phonetically, and pronunciation is approximated as closely as possible in the following list of common sounds.

a	as in father	u	as in do
a	as in cut	U	as in put
A	as in mat	c	as in shin
E	as in met	h	after a consonant denotes aspiration
ei	as in day	n	as in sing
i	as in see	'	denotes a glottal stop
I	as in mit	!	after a consonant indicates glottalization
o	as in low		
O	as in law		

#### Site 1

**lamwO'tha** (lam - motar; wO'tha - river). This camp site is on a small stream which enters the lake at Edgewood. It was noted in ethnographic times for fishing and berry collecting. While at the camp, families collected a berry called **cu'wE'thUkh**, roots called **ma'Sakha** and **sEsmE'** and grass seeds (?) called **matsilOIO**. Large berries were eaten raw and whole. Small ones (such as porcupine berries) might be crushed through a **dugAbal** which would remove the skins and needles. All berries except the porcupine berries could be dried and stored. Before using, the dry berries were soaked in water until soft; then they were heated and made into mush.

#### Site 2

**ImgiwO'tha** (Imgi - cutthroat trout (salmo henshawi); wO'tha - river). This camp site was 200 yards east of the Upper Truckee River and about 1½ miles from the lake. As the name implies, the camp was important for trout fishing.

#### Site 3

**mathOcahuwo'tha** (mathOcauwa' - whitefish Coregonas williamsoni ; wO'tha - river). This camp was on Trout Creek and is recorded ethnographically as an important site for whitefish and collecting late berries. Trout Creek gained its uniqueness because the Washo could live near their fish blinds. Also they did not have to camp together because no wild animals were in the area during the time of the year when the camp was used. The Washo prepared whitefish to take with them into the Pine Nut Mountains or into California, where they gathered acorns.

#### Site 4

Camp site. The next stopping place after **mathOcahuwo'tha** (Site 3) on the journey to procure acorns was near Myers Station on the Upper Truckee River. Minnows and suckers were caught at this camp. However, the site was considered dangerous by the Washo because of bears; so here they camped close together. From this camp they followed the American River to California. This route was mainly used by the **pauwatu** from Carson Valley. The **nanalElthi** gathered acorns at Big Trees and the **wElmElthi** journeyed to the vicinity of Colfax. If there were no regular acorns, the Washo collected white oak acorns or **malnatsi** (**malun** - acorn; **atsi** - small), which are described as resembling acorns and growing on bushes five or six feet high.

#### Site 5

**daugacacuwO'tha** (translated as "clear water river"). This camp is on the first stream west of Camp Richardson and was visited from spring to the middle of summer. The Washo caught spotted trout in the river and collected birds' eggs in a nearby swamp.

#### Site 6

Red Clay site. The Washo collected red clay here for use in decorating themselves and their bows and arrows.

## Site 7

**dEyEli'bukhwOrhu.** The Washo occasionally caught Cui-ui (**Chamistes cujus Cope**) at this camp. However, it was not a specially popular camping spot. There is some question in the literature whether this fish ever got up river as far as Tahoe. Ethnographers note that Cui-ui may have been used by the Washoes for a different species of fish than did the Paiutes.

## Site 8

**mugaulu'wOtha.** This small camp, excellent for trout fishing, was about 1½ to 2 miles south of Meeks Bay. The trout run did not last long at this camp as at some others. Bears fished this stream so the Washo had to keep an all-night fire for protection.

## Site 9

**ma'yai awO'tha** (Meeks Bay Creek). This midsummer camping spot was used for fishing and the collecting of berries and seeds. The camp was located below the present highway bridge.

## Sites 10 and 11

Both these sites were on one of the main trek routes leading into California. The mineral water at Rubicon Springs was considered by the Washo to be good for internal complaints. They might camp here for a night or two, then continue on to Bucher Lake and spend a few days hunting deer. They would then proceed west toward present Georgetown and, after a day's walk, they would enter acorn country. This route was primarily used by the **wElmElthi** from north of Carson City.

## Site 12

**dukhmE'EmwO'tha** (General Creek). Although the Washo did not camp at this spot for very long, they considered it a good fishing stream.

## Site 13

**cu'wE'thUkhwO'tha** (**cu'wE'thUkh** - a kind of berry; **wO'tha** - river). This camp was on a small stream (McKinney Creek) near today's Chambers Lodge. Besides fishing, the Washo collected **cu'wE'thUkh** (?) and the following medical plants:

1. **damukOkoi** - The use of this plant is unknown.
2. **bEziEzInthE'khi** - This plant was used for eye trouble and sore throat.
3. **mugaulu** - This root plant had a magical efficacy in deer hunting. If used properly, it put the deer to sleep. Only the shamans collected this plant.

## Site 14

**deicbeiyulbEthi.** This camp area was at the junction of Donner Creek and the Truckee River and is where the **wElmElthi** got much of their fish and game. Donner Creek provided better fishing than the Truckee because it was smaller and could be diverted.

## Site 15

**Blackwood Creek.** This camp site was on the south side of a small hill just north of the creek. Among the subsistence activities performed by the Washo here were the trapping of ground squirrels and woodchucks, gathering porcupine berries and wild rhubarb. Cutthroat trout ran here in early spring and were then followed by other fish.

## Site 16

The caves at the foot of Stonford Rock were sometimes used by hunters for temporary camps.

### Site 17

**daugaiaca.** A few oak trees grew in this area, and the Washo came over from the lake to get acorns. They camped among the trees rather than in open flats.

### Site 18

Ward Creek. The Washo camped here for trout fishing. The camp was on the lake shore even though the bedrock mortar was a good distance upstream. The inlet just south was avoided, for it was the home of a water baby (**mEtsunE**).

### Site 19

**daubayOdu'E** (translated as "running over"). This camp was on a small hill that has been completely destroyed by a highway. Here the Washo fished and collected grasshoppers, which they roasted over hot coals. About a mile north was a cave where they collected swallows' eggs. The camp associated with the cave is now under water.

### Site 20

**wO'thanamIn** (Burton Creek). This camp was used in association with the catching of whitefish in the creek and collecting grasshoppers in the nearby meadows. The whitefish ran here earlier than in Trout Creek. Big green worms (probably army worms) that live on the trees were collected and roasted in hot sand.

### Site 21

**diphEkhwO'tha** (**diphEkh** - white paint; **wO'tha** - river). There used to be a creek here. The Washo collected fish, porcupine berries, sunflower seeds, **cu'wE'thUkh**, and white clay, which they used for self-decoration.

### Site 22

**masundauwO'tha** (**masun** - slow; **wO'tha** - river). This camp was back from the lake a short distance on Watson Creek. This was an important camp for the Indians from around Carson City and Reno, who might spend the whole summer here. Among the resources used were: (1) fishing, (2) ground squirrels and woodchucks, (3) seeds, such as **mA'sum**, pigwood seed, **cugllatsi**, and **sEsme'**, (4) mushrooms, (5) locusts, and (6) a kind of berry called **klila'tsim**.

### Site 23

**ma'goiyatwO'tha.** This site is on a small creek just west of Incline. It was a favorite camp of the Indians from Washo Valley. All berries used by the Washo except chokeberries were available in the vicinity of **ma'goiyatwO'tha**.

### Site 24

**phagathsami.** This camp was on a little flat where the creek turns west. Considered a good fishing stream.

### Site 25

**daumaldauhO'tha.** This was a main camping site for the Washo from around Genoa. From here they walked to site 25a for fish and 25b for berries.

### Site 26

**'athablcama.** This camp was used primarily for fishing and collecting locusts in nearby meadows.

### Site 27

**dE'Ekwadapoc** (translated as "gray rock"). The cave at Cave Rock was used for shelter. About 100 yards off shore from this rock was the nest of a mythical, man-eating bird (**'an**).

### **Site 28**

A fishing camp on the west side of the river near a waterfall.

### **Site 29**

**wO'thanamIna.** The Washo used this site as a resting spot, not as a camping site.

### **Site 30**

**gumIE'phElwO'tha.** A resting spot.

### **Site 31**

This site was, like sites 29 and 30, a resting spot.

### **Sites 32, 33, 34, and 35**

These were all Bedrock Mortar sites mentioned by only one informant. Site 32 was about 100 yards from the river.

## **SUGGESTIONS**

### **1. Known ethnographic and archaeological deposits in the Lake Tahoe basin should be evaluated.**

The Forest Service, the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, and other agencies charged with protection of historic and prehistoric remains should be encouraged to contract with professional archaeologists for on-the-ground examination of all known historic and prehistoric Washo sites in the Lake Tahoe basin. This reconnaissance should be made as soon as possible (summer 1972). Report on this reconnaissance should include: (1) statement of the present condition of these sites; (2) recommendations that would help in the continuing protection of the sites and interpretation of their values.

### **2. Archaeological reconnaissance of the Lake Tahoe basin should be made.**

The Lake Tahoe Basin has never received a systematic reconnaissance by professional archaeologists. Any programs for protection and interpretation of historic and prehistoric resources must necessarily be based on accurate knowledge of the quality and quantity of existing resources. The various agencies that bear responsibility for protecting public resources should contract with professional archaeologists to conduct on-the-ground surveys prior to submitting a report. This report should include: (1) description of the location and condition of the sites discovered, and (2) recommendations that would help in the continuing protection of the sites and interpretation of their values.

### **3. Ethnographic and archaeological sites should be protected from vandalism and other forms of destruction.**

It is suggested that all permits, contracts, and other regulatory documents should include specific references to the public's responsibility for the protection of these historical and archaeological resources.

### **4. Historical and prehistoric resources should be interpreted.**

All agencies or other organizations having responsibilities for management should insure that the various interpretations of historic and prehistoric peoples, including their life-ways or cultures, should be done in as scholarly a manner as possible.

### **5. A Washo Indian Visitor Center should be established at Lake Tahoe.**

The vast amount of scholarly and popular knowledge about the prehistoric and historic Washo culture change and stability should be collected and made available to the public in an educational-informational center at Lake Tahoe.

## DISCUSSION

Suggestions 1 and 2 propose inventorying all information available about the prehistoric and historic sites in the Lake Tahoe basin. The first suggestion specifically calls for immediate examination of sites that have already been recorded. Such an inspection should not only give all responsible parties information about present conditions of the sites but would recommend how best to protect what remains.

The Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada (Reno) has expressed interest in making this examination. It is suggested that this project be started in the summer of 1972.

Suggestion 2 calls for on-the-ground inspection of all habitable areas (including trek routes and trails) of the basin by trained archaeologists. It is suggested that scholars from both California and Nevada be charged with this project, and that it be extended over a 3-year period commencing in the summer of 1972. The Desert Research Institute (Reno) is the most responsible coordinating agency for such a research/interpretive project.

Suggestion 3 proposes the management of antiquities by both State and Federal governments in accord with established laws, including various agency rules and regulations that seek to carry out such responsibilities. It specifically calls for immediate action to carry out these responsibilities for the following reasons:

1. Increased temporary, seasonal, and annual visitor use of public and private lands results in increased jeopardy to the undisturbed state of historical and archaeological resources.
2. Historical and archaeological sites on public land have been destroyed without attempts to use various available protective measures.
3. Growing national interest in the protection of irreplaceable historic and prehistoric resources on public land, as well as a growing interest in Indian history and prehistory, suggests that more immediate attention be given to these resources in various multiple-use planning goals.
4. Destruction of such resources is synonymous with destruction of accurate information. A characteristic of any historically oriented science is that once the data are gone there is no way of ever separating truth from fancy.

Suggestion 4 recognizes that partial truths ("Indian lore") make up a considerable part of the written and oral histories of the Washo. Specifically it seeks to provide the guidance of professional anthropologists in matters related to Indian history.

Suggestion 5 calls for bringing together of all research data now available, as well as information that will be produced by future research, for use in an educational-informational center that will be maintained by some governing agency (or agencies) for the benefit of the public. This suggestion also pointedly notes that government-sponsored research carried out on public land often fails to produce results that are readily available to the public. Scholars who do actual research rarely assist in the presentation of new information to the public through such media as museum display, films, or popular written accounts. Therefore the suggestion calls for an interpretive center where specialized scholars work hand in hand with other specialists trained in the theory, methods, and techniques of public presentation.

## REFERENCES

d'Azavedo, Warren L. and John A. Price

1963 An Annotated Bibliography of Washo Sources. In d'Azevedo, Warren L. (Editor), "The Washo Indians of California and Nevada." **University of Utah Anthropological Papers**, No. 67, Salt Lake City.

Downs, James F.

1965 **The Two Worlds of the Washo: Indian Tribe of California and Nevada.** Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York.

Freed, Stanley A.

1966 Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area, **University of California Archaeological Survey**, No. 66, pp. 73-84. Berkeley.

Gifford, Edward W.

1926 California Anthropometry. **University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology**, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 217-390, Berkeley.

Grosscup, Gordon L.

1966 Comments on Prehistory. In d'Azevedo, Warren L., et al. (editors). "The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964." **Desert Research Institute Technical Series S-H**, Social Science and Humanities Publication No. 1. Reno.

Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser

1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. **University of California Archaeological Survey**, No. 21, pp. 1-42, Berkeley

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.

1966 Washo Linguistics. In d'Azevedo, Warren L., et al (Editors). "The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964. **Desert Research Institute Technical Series S-H**, Social Science and Humanities Publication No. 1. Reno.

Kennedy, K. A.

1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. **University of California Archaeological Survey**, No. 45. Berkeley.

Krieber, Alfred L.

1925 Handbook of the Indians of California. **Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin** 78. Washington, D. C. (Reproduced 1953, California Book Co., Ltd., Berkeley)

1955 Linguistic Time Depth Results So Far and Their Meaning. **International Journal of American Linguistics**, Vol. 21, pp. 91-104.

Lamb, Sydney M.

1958 Linguistic Prehistory in the Great Basin. **International Journal of American Linguistics**, Vol. 24, pp. 95-100.

Nevins, Allan (Editor)

1956 **Narratives of Exploration and Adventure.** John C. Fremont (Author). Longmans, Green & Co. New York.

Price, John A.

1963 Washo Culture Change. **Nevada State Museum Papers**, No. 9, pp. 38-54. Carson City.

Remy, Jules and Robert Brenchley

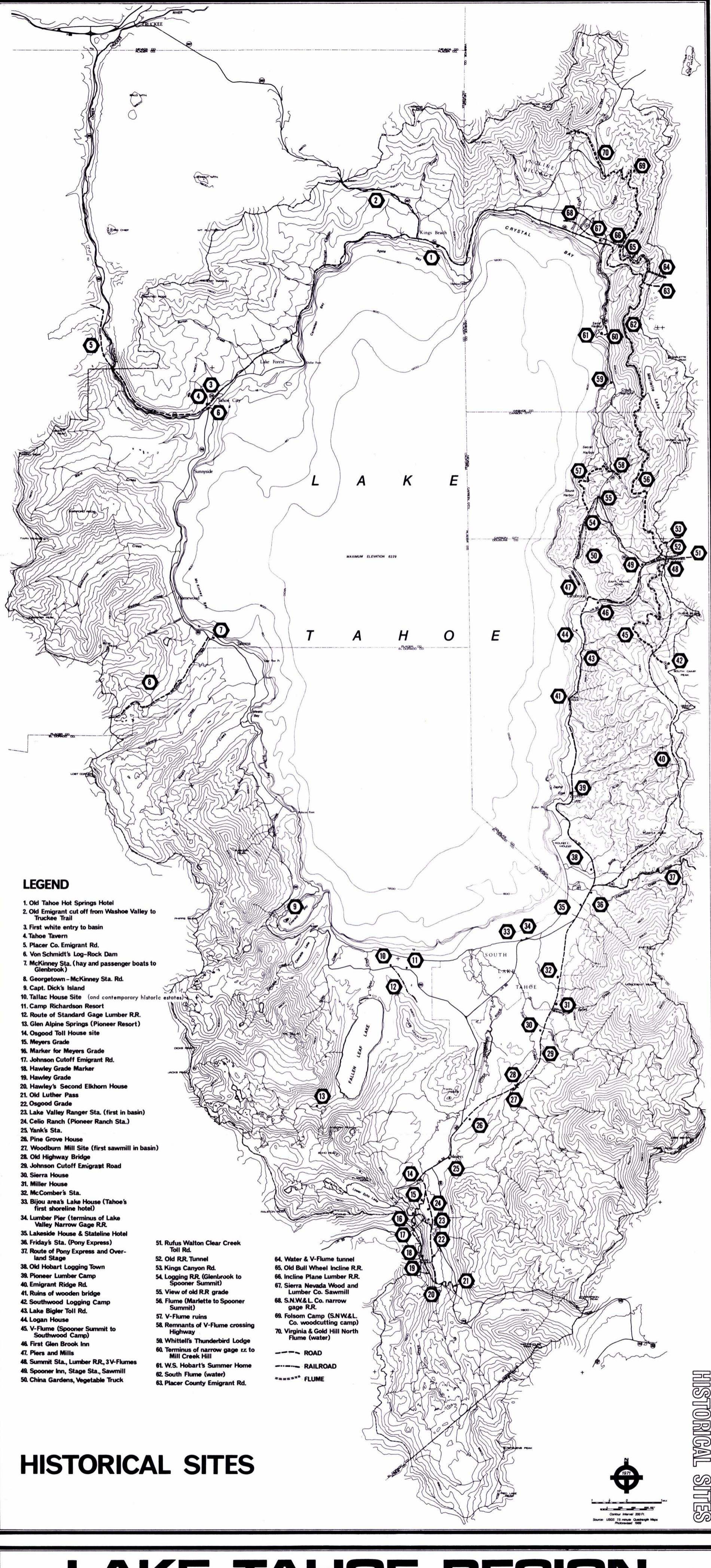
1860 **A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake-City**. Vol. W. Jeffs. London.

Riddell, Francis A.

1958 The Eastern California Border: Cultural and Temporal Affinities. In "Current Views on Great Basin Archaeology". **University of California Archaeological Survey**, No. 42, pp. 41-48. Berkeley

Scotch, Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

1963 Social Factors in Hypertension Among the Washo. In d'Azevedo, Warren L. (Editor), "The Washo Indians of California and Nevada." **University of Utah Anthropological Papers**, No. 67, pp. 69-77. Salt Lake City.



---

For more information, contact the Office of the Vice President for Research and Economic Development at 319-273-2500 or [research@uiowa.edu](mailto:research@uiowa.edu).

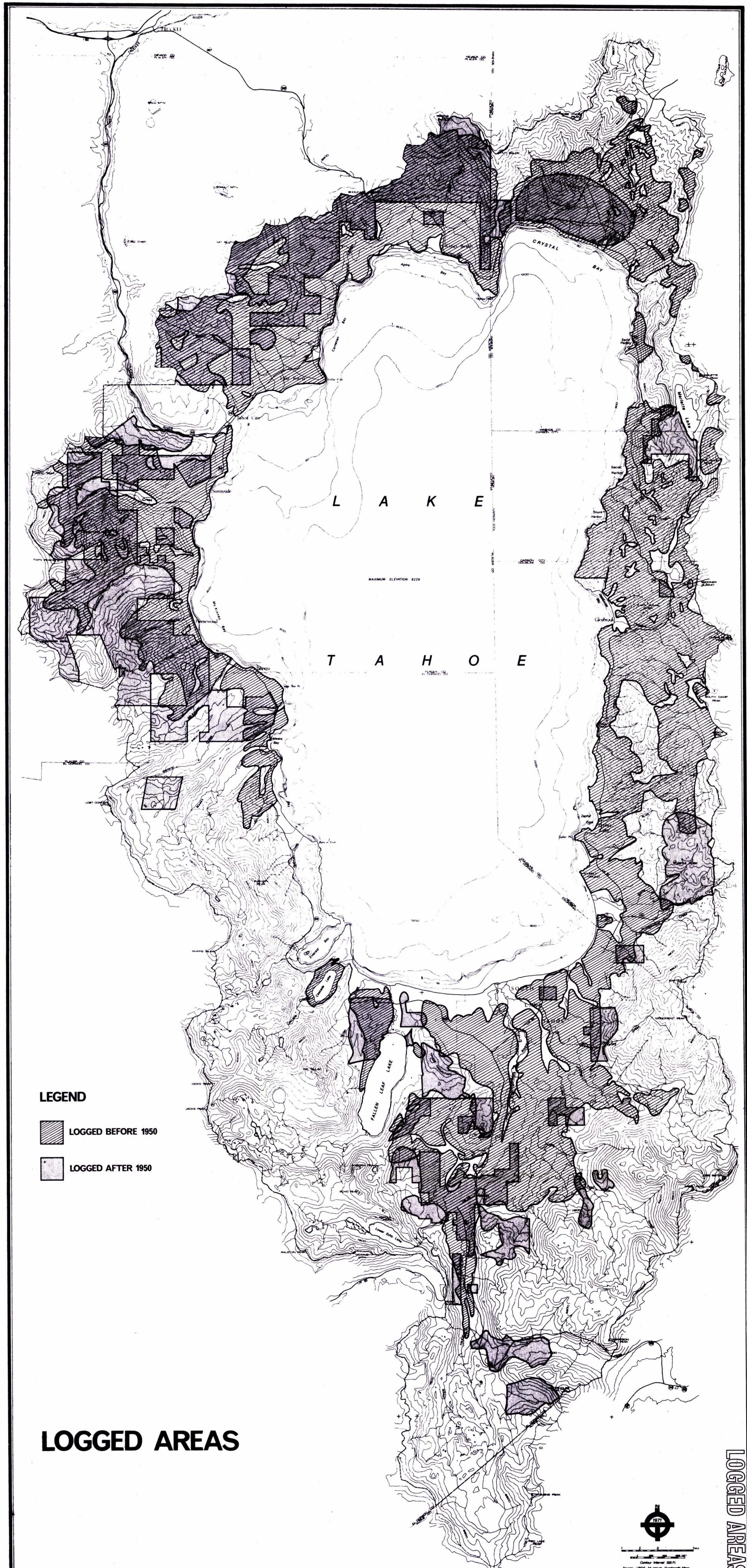
# LAKE TAHOE REGION



TAHOE REGIONAL PLANNING AGENCY

# USDA FOREST SERVICE



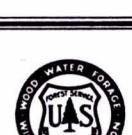


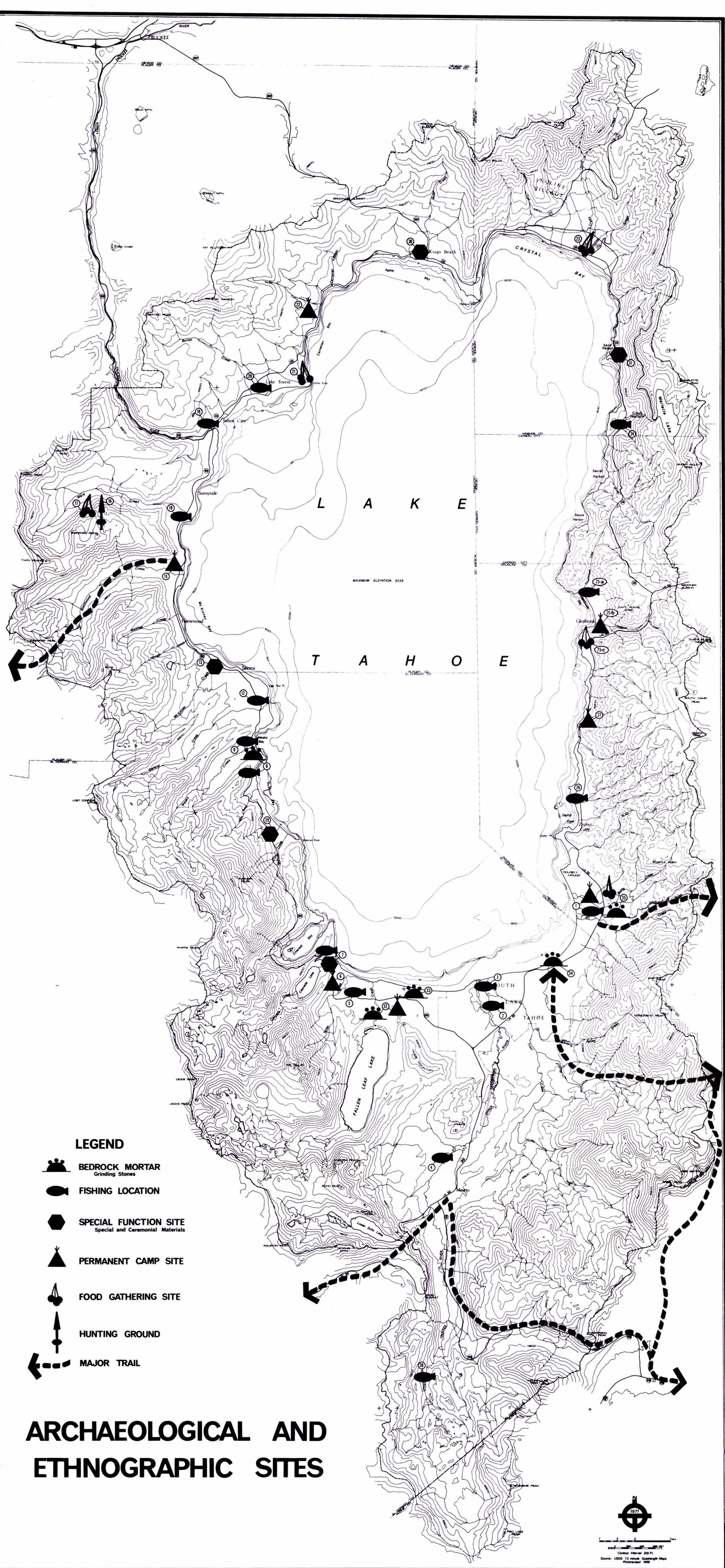
# LAKE TAHOE REGION



TAHOE REGIONAL PLANNING AGENCY

USDA FOREST SERVICE





# LAKE TAHOE REGION

TAHOE REGIONAL PLANNING AGENCY  
USDA FOREST SERVICE



This publication is one of a group issued jointly by the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency and the USDA Forest Service. Each publication describes and inventories a natural resource or other characteristic to the total environment of the Lake Tahoe Region; it attempts to show the hazards incidental to improperly planned development of the area and to provide information helpful in designing controls that must be implemented if the scenic beauty of the Lake Tahoe Region is to be preserved and its other natural resources are to be conserved. These publications are not exhaustive treatises of their subjects, but they highlight the known significant information and data useful in the planning effort underway. Subjects of publications in this series are:

Climate and Air Quality of the Lake Tahoe Region

Cultural and Historical Significance of the Lake Tahoe Region

Land Resources of the Lake Tahoe Region.

Fisheries of Lake Tahoe and Its Tributary Waters

Geology and Geomorphology of the Lake Tahoe Region

Hydrology and Water Resources of the Lake Tahoe Region

Limnology and Water Quality of Lake Tahoe and Tributary Waters

Recreational Resources of the Lake Tahoe Region

Wildlife of the Lake Tahoe Region

Soils of the Lake Tahoe Region

Vegetation of the Lake Tahoe Region

Scenic Analyses of the Lake Tahoe Region

Because of the heavy expense of publication and because these reports are designed chiefly for use by planners, supplies are not available for general public distribution.